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DOHA JOURNAL

By STEVE RODAN

Albright to Israel: Time is running out

Warning that time is running out for the peace process, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright yesterday called on Israel to implement the interim agreements with the Palestinians.

"Palestinian leaders must intensify cooperation on security issues and speak more

Plenty of interest in Israel, Page 2

consistently the language of peace," Albright told the opening of the Middle East and North Africa economic conference in the Qatari capital.

"Israeli leaders must meet their responsibilities by taking steps to restore Palestinian and Arab confidence in their commitment to implementing Oslo."

The Doha conference, being held under tight security with special US units deployed, is being boycotted by a majority of the 22 members of the Arab League. These nations have accused Israel of refusing to trade land for peace with the Palestinians.

"Among those who have boycotted the conference are Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Palestinian Authority. Israel has sent a lower level delegation than in the past."

In words that seemed directed at Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Albright said that Middle East leaders cannot "sit on the fence and wait for others to take the risks and summon the requisite courage to bring peace about. Partners have obligations - to make their partners stronger, not weaker, to act in the spirit of peace, to take into account the needs and views of others."

Albright's stay at the conference lasted about two hours, as she left to hold talks in Saudi Arabia on the Iraq crisis.

In her speech, Albright mentioned the late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Rabin, Yasser Arafat, and Jordan's King Hussein as examples of those who have shown courage to make peace.

Without mentioning Netanyahu, she added, "The time has come for all those with a stake in the Middle East to meet their responsibilities."

Albright said the peace process is in danger "not because the people of the region do not desire peace, but because leaders have failed to take the actions required to realize the possibilities of peace."

She urged Israel to agree to measures that would help the Palestinian economy and reduce closures of the territories.

She said Israeli-Palestinian negotiations are based on a four-part agenda of security, further IDF redeployments, a "time-out on settlement activity," and accelerated talks on final-status issues.

She reiterated US support for UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, "including the principle of land for peace."

See ALBRIGHT, Page 2

Iraq agrees to readmit inspectors



US Defense Secretary William Cohen holds up a five-pound bag of sugar on ABC TV's 'This Week' yesterday, to demonstrate how a smaller amount of anthrax bacteria could destroy half the population of Washington DC if wielded as a biological weapon. (AP)

US: Yeltsin, Chirac partly to blame for crisis

By IRWIN ARIEFF

PARIS (Reuters) - Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz said in an interview released yesterday that Baghdad would readmit American arms inspectors if the UN agreed to change the makeup of its inspection teams.

He suggested that giving equal representation to all five permanent members of the Security Council would be a way out of the standoff over the weapons inspections.

Meanwhile, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein said yesterday that Iraq is not seeking a confrontation with the United States. "If a solution [is found to the current crisis] which leads to implementing the Security Council's obligations toward Iraq, we will be happy," INA quoted Saddam as telling a cabinet meeting.

"But if the others decide another way than dialogue, they will be fully responsible [for their decision]," Saddam said.

Aziz told the French daily *Le Figaro*, in an interview text which the newspaper released yesterday: "We ask the Security Council to create a committee of experts whose impartiality is not in question. If this formula were accepted, we would have no objection to the return of the American inspectors whom we have expelled."

"On this new inspection team,

all five permanent members of the Security Council would have to have equal weight," Aziz said in the interview, conducted while he was in the French capital on a two-day stopover between a trip to the UN and a five-nation tour of Arab states.

The council's permanent members are the United States, France,

Crisis prompts gas-mask renewals, Page 3

Russia, China, and Britain.

Though he set out the compromise plan, the tone of the interview was anything but conciliatory. Aziz called the United States "a giant that has gone crazy," complaining of Washington's dominating attitude towards Iran, Cuba, and Japan in addition to Iraq. "America judges, orders and punishes according to its pleasure," he said.

"Following the signing of an oil contract between Total and Iran, the United States decides to punish French businesses, just as it punishes Cuba because [Cuban leader Fidel] Castro is a communist, and just as it threatens Japan, because this country's exports are too strong," he said.

He said Baghdad might lose in a

military conflict with the United States, but is unbowed. "I cannot tell you if we will win, but I can tell you that, in confronting the United States, we will have the necessary will and courage. Politically and morally, we are in a much better position than in 1991, because our cause is just," he said.

"We are doing nothing, wrong, we are threatening no one, and everyone can see that it is America which refuses to recognize the rights of Iraq," he said.

Aziz left Paris yesterday for North Africa to rally Arab support to Baghdad's side in its dispute over the arms inspections. Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said that Aziz is expected in Cairo today for talks on the crisis. But diplomatic sources said his destination yesterday evening was the Moroccan capital, Rabat.

The Security Council has condemned Baghdad for expelling American UN arms monitors from teams inspecting evidence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, and the other monitors on the inspection teams have withdrawn from Iraq in protest.

US President Bill Clinton has reinforced the US naval presence in the Gulf, while consulting allies on diplomatic ways out of the confrontation.

See IRAQ, Page 2

Lieberman denies videotaping rivals

By SARAH MORIG

Prime Minister's Office Director-General Avigdor Lieberman yesterday denied allegations he had "managed the Likud convention via remote control," as well as reports he had his opponents clandestinely videotaped at that event and plans to run for the Knesset.

In doing so, however, Lieberman widely considered Netanyahu's right-hand-man engaged in a head-on confrontation with the media.

Lieberman, who said that much of what he reads about himself is full of "lies, hate, and incitement," sought to react to accusations within the Likud that he is to blame for the convention fiasco and resulting demands that he resign.

To convey his message, Lieberman summoned reporters to his office to hear him read a statement; he refused to answer their questions. An uproar ensued as journalists insisted on their right to pose questions.

Lieberman maintained that the Civil Service code forbade him from holding a press conference and "taking part in political polemics." After failing to agree with the reporters, he walked out and faxed his statement to the press.

A source said last night that Lieberman was under explicit orders from Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, sent from London, not to hold a press conference and not to grant any inter-

views. Netanyahu was quoted as advising Lieberman that anything he would say would be twisted and used against him.

In his two-page statement, Lieberman said, "When I read and hear all that is said about me, I am at a loss as to whether to laugh or cry. I see before me a plethora of lies, words of hate, and even incitement - but no facts."

Lieberman went on to list some of what he claims are lies. "I did not control the convention via remote control and no one managed it at my behest." He insists he "has no connection whatever to the photographer who supposedly was hired to tape opponents. I heard not so much as a hint from the photographer that he is connected to me either."

Similarly, Lieberman says that "no one has heard from me that I intend to run for the Knesset. The fact is that I entertain no such intention and have no wish to become an MK."

It had been alleged by some during the recent Likud imbroglio that Lieberman is motivated by his desire to facilitate his election to a safe slot on the next Likud Knesset list and that he then plans to run for prime minister in 2004.

To illustrate the degree of hostility toward him, Lieberman noted the "malicious gossip that had been so energetically and systematically circulated about my supposed ties to Gregory Lerner [Zvi Ben-Ari] and to a Russian mafia."

See LIEBERMAN, Page 2

Sources: PM, Hussein may meet in London

By AVINOAM BAR-YOSEF and LIAT COLLINS

Preparations are under way in London for a possible meeting tomorrow between Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Jordan's King Hussein, diplomatic sources said last night.

No official confirmation was available. Netanyahu will be making his way back from the US, where he was to address the Council of Jewish Federations in Indianapolis last night before flying to Los Angeles today. Israel Radio reported yesterday

that the prime minister might meet in London with a Palestinian official. At first the radio said the meeting would be with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat, but it later referred only to an unnamed senior Palestinian representative.

Moshe Leon, the prime minister's bureau chief, who remained in London after the delegation left for the US, denied there was any change in Netanyahu's schedule. It is Leon's continued stay in London which, seems to have prompted speculation about the prime minister's plans.

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NEWS

in brief

Hungarians vote to join NATO

Months of public apathy followed by weeks of intense government campaigning culminated yesterday, when an overwhelming majority of Hungarians going to the polls voted to join NATO. After counting just under 90 percent of the ballots, election officials said 85% had voted in favor of NATO membership and just over 14% against. Voter turnout was 49%.

"Membership in NATO will exclude the possibility of a great war. I am very glad that the referendum took place in such an orderly, calm manner," President Arpad Goencz told state-run TV, adding his thanks to everyone who turned out to vote. AP

Israeli-Palestinian teams meet in Jericho

A special meeting of the Israeli and Palestinian steering teams takes place today at the office of negotiator Saeb Erekat in Jericho. Danny Naveh and Ya'acov Bardugo will head the Israeli team, accompanied by Maj.-Gen. Ya'acov Orr, the government's West Bank policy coordinator, and representatives from the IDF, Internal Security Ministry and Ports Authority. Jerusalem Post Staff

Motion to dissolve Knesset resubmitted

Meretz whip Haim Oron has asked Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon to allow him to resubmit a motion to dissolve the Knesset, which was voted down in July. Oron asserted that new elections should be held because the prime minister's standing in his party was hurt at the Likud convention held last week.

A motion to dissolve the legislature would have to pass a preliminary and three additional readings. It would be unlikely to pass without coalition support. Liat Collins

Democracy project for Palestinian youth begins

A pilot plan aimed at helping Palestinian youths to help themselves through democratic means has been launched in Khan Yunis by the Palestinian branch of Interns for Peace, in association with senior PA official Nabil Shaath and a Palestinian cultural organization. Details of the Palestinian Youth Parliament project were unveiled at the annual meeting in Tel Aviv last week of the Israeli branch of Interns for Peace, an international non-profit organization which helps to promote understanding and peaceful co-existence between Jews and Arabs. David Rudge

Four-year-old tumbles to his death

A four-year-old boy in Jerusalem's Neveh Ya'acov neighborhood fell from a third story balcony to his death yesterday. Neighbors who witnessed the fall called Magen David Adom, which took the boy to Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem, where he died of his injuries. Itim

Papon illness may postpone trial

Accused Nazi collaborator Maurice Papon, 87, has pneumonia, casting doubt on whether his war crimes against humanity trial will resume today in Bordeaux, France as scheduled, his lawyers said. But Lawyer Francis Vuillemin said that Papon himself, who underwent a heart bypass operation last year, still hoped to attend today's court session. Lawyers for the families of Holocaust survivors have accused Papon of faking illness to escape judgement. Papon is charged with ordering the arrest of 1,560 Jews who were sent to Auschwitz, while he was a senior official of the Vichy government. Reuters

Yosef: Reform Jews should be 'vomited out'

Shas mentor Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, in comments broadcast yesterday, said Reform Jews do not belong in Israel and should leave. "The Reform... do not belong with [the people of] Israel," he said in a lesson given Saturday. "These people should be cast out, vomited out. So that they will not remain in Israel."

Anat Galili, a spokeswoman of the Reform movement, termed Yosef's statement "absurd," and said the Reform Jews living in Israel are deeply rooted in the country. AP

One killed, nine hurt on roads

One man was killed and nine persons were injured in two road accidents yesterday.

Shimon Karif, 40, of Shlomi, was killed near Moshav Liman in Western Galilee early in the morning when his car swerved into the opposite lane on the Nabariya-Rosh Hanikra road and collided head-on with an oncoming truck. The truck driver was seriously injured.

Three persons were seriously injured and five others lightly hurt when two cars collided last evening on the Shiloh-Ofra road. Itim

PM: Iran a bigger threat than Iraq

LONDON - Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said yesterday that Iran could pose a bigger danger than Iraq and that Tehran may even end up with nuclear weapons aimed at the United States.

"The international community is rightly focused on Iraq," he said, offering solid support to President Clinton's diplomatic offensive over the UN weapons inspection crisis.

But he said, "at the same time Iran, unseen, unperturbed and undisturbed is building a formidable arsenal of ballistic missiles, actually ICBM's (intercontinental Ballistic Missiles).

"Stage One would reach our area, Stage Two it would reach Britain and Stage Three, believe it or not, they actually plan to reach the eastern seaboard of the United States, Manhattan."

Netanyahu charged that Russian ballistic missile technology was still reaching Iran despite diplomatic efforts to halt it.

Netanyahu, interviewed by BBC Television, said: "This sounds fantastic but Iran wants to be a world power with a world ideology of fundamentalist domination, seeing the West as its great enemy."

"It seeks to have weapons to back up that ideology and that is even

more dangerous than Saddam because there is a fanaticism, an ideological fanaticism attached to the acquisition of these weapons."

Brushing aside concerns about his headline approach to Mideast peace, he said the Palestinians must fight terrorism.

He said he had told Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat "Live up to your pledge to fight the terrorists and we will live up to all our pledges." Despite the stalemate in the talks, he said: "We may be able to move forward" in the wake of US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's latest talks with him and Palestinian leader

Yasser Arafat.

"You cannot have terror and peace coexisting. This is the crucial thing for us and I think we are making some headway."

Netanyahu reiterated that he wanted to focus on final status talks.

"We are stuck before the toll booth up to the highway that would get us to the final settlement."

"The right thing to do is to go through the toll booth, get onto that highway and negotiate for six to nine months in an accelerated way," he added.

Netanyahu said he has been pushing for comprehensive talks

for the past year "and I think it's beginning to be received."

"I'd like to see it happen in the next year - and that's my proposal," he said.

"I believe it's possible to get with the Palestinians the kind of peace we have with Egypt," Netanyahu said. "Sometimes it's called a cold peace. But a cold peace is a hell of a lot better than a hot war."

Albright said after meeting Arafat in Bern, Switzerland on Saturday that both leaders seemed to receive her main message - that they need to act more decisively to overcome their differences and advance the peace process. News agencies



Bus No. 5 victims remembered
On the third anniversary of the attack, relatives lay a wreath yesterday on Tel Aviv's Rehov Dizengoff, at the site of the suicide bombing of a No. 5 bus, in which 22 people died. (Yael Somekh / Israel Sun)

Riots follow slain boy's funeral

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH and MOHAMMED NAJIB

Hundreds attended the funeral of Hassan Ali Jarawish, 7, who was shot in the head with a rubber bullet by an IDF soldier during disturbances at Rachel's Tomb last Tuesday and died of his wounds on Saturday.

His body, wrapped in a Palestinian flag, was borne through the streets of the El Aida refugee camp to the Muslim cemetery behind Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem. The crowd chanted "Allahu akbar (God is great)," and "We will avenge our martyrs." Shoroly after Jarawish was laid to rest, scores of Palestinian youths hurled stones and bottles at IDF troops.

In the clashes that ensued, one soldier was injured lightly in the head by a stone and 7 Palestinians were injured by rubber bullets and tear gas. One of the injured was Associated Press photographer Khaled Zighari. The IDF spokesman said he was treated by medics before being transferred to hospital. He said Zighari

was filming the riot when he was hit by a rubber bullet.

Yesterday morning, youth from the El Aida camp threw stones at troops. Palestinian police intervened and pushed the rioters back after they burned tires and blocked the entrance to the camp.

3 children get boy's organs, Page 4

B'tselem charged yesterday that IDF open-fire regulations result in innocent Palestinian lives being lost. It said that 275 Palestinian children under 16 have been killed by IDF fire in the last 10 years, 69 of them under 12. It added that since the signing of the Oslo Agreement in 1993, 38 children under 16 were killed, five of them under 12.

The organization demanded that the soldier who shot Jarawish be brought to trial.

Meanwhile, in Tzurif near Hebron, a crowd of some 300 Palestinians protested the arrest of wanted Hamas terrorists Ismail Ranimat, 25, and Gamal Jibril Alhour, 27, who were caught by IDF undercover troops on Thursday. The Palestinians blamed the Palestinian Authority for their capture. The crowd stoned Palestinian police in the village, then marched to the Palestinian Police station in Hebron and stoned the building.

Hamas spokesman Abdel Aziz Rantisi said "the two members of the Tzurif cell were delivered to Israel as part of the security coordination between the PA and Israel." He called this "a very dangerous step."

Palestinian Preventive Security chief Col. Jibril Rajoub said in response that "the Israelis responsible for taking this decision [to arrest the Tzurif cell members] will regret this. Israel carried out an act of piracy when it grabbed our prisoners."

"This act will destroy the peace process and we are determined to release them."

ALBRIGHT
Continued from Page 1

Her words reflected what US officials said is Washington's frustration with the stalled peace process.

Arab leaders at the conference accused Israel of threatening war. US Commerce Secretary William Daley told a news conference that no site has been chosen for a 1998 conference, and that an announcement would only be made early next year.

This was a departure from previous years where a subsequent host was announced during the conference.

The emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Thani, opened the conference with sharp criticism of what he called "Israeli stubbornness. Israel's actions... are exposing the region to dangers whose extent we cannot forecast."

LIEBERMAN
Continued from Page 1

All this, according to Lieberman, is nothing but "malicious and hypocritical calumny and a well orchestrated onslaught that breaks all the rules of the game, which existed in this country for the past 50 years."

"One such rule," Lieberman claims, "is the custom of not attacking a prime minister when he is out of the country. I was sorry to see that this was not only done by the opposition and the press this time, but also by Likud ministers and the party's representatives."

Lieberman's first public comment since last week's convention did not alleviate the pressure on him from his many opponents in the party. Science Minister Michael Eitan continued to press for his ouster.

"When a failure of such enormous proportions... occurs, the causes must be thoroughly ascertained and whoever is responsible has to and suffer the consequences," he said.

The Likud Knesset faction is to meet today to discuss proposals to set up an inquiry into what preceded the convention and into what went on during it.

IRAQ
Continued from Page 1

French President Jacques Chirac said yesterday that Iraq's stance in the confrontation is unacceptable and he backs US efforts to end the standoff.

The UN has reserved the right to use military force against Iraq, but France, as well as Russia, China, and Egypt in the Security Council have said they oppose any use of force.

Meanwhile, the US State Department's third-ranking official accused the presidents of Russia and France yesterday of partial responsibility for the standoff with Iraq.

Thomas Pickering, the under-secretary of state, said Russian President Boris Yeltsin and French President Jacques Chirac "bore some responsibility for this crisis" because their policies may have emboldened Saddam.

"They were a contributing factor," Pickering said on the CNN program *Late Edition*. The two's soft line toward Saddam then may have encouraged him to think that "the unity of the Security Council had fallen, that he could get away with confronting the Security Council," he said.

Netanyahu to visit Los Angeles today

By TOM TUGEND

LOS ANGELES - Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is scheduled to visit Los Angeles today and tomorrow for an intensive 24-hour round of speeches and meetings.

Netanyahu will start out today with a luncheon address to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council at the Beverly Hilton Hotel. In the afternoon, he will meet with some 250 leaders of the Jewish Federation, AIPAC and Israel Bonds.

In the evening, Netanyahu is to participate in a celebrity-studded fundraiser for the Jerusalem Fund

of Aish Ha Torah and confer the organization's King David Award on actor Kirk Douglas.

The Aish Ha Torah evening will be held at a private home, with the guest list limited to 120 people attending at a minimum price of \$10,000 per couple, or \$100,000 for eight people.

Early tomorrow, Netanyahu and Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman will take part in an economic forum, co-sponsored by the Milken Institute, about opportunities and challenges facing Israel's economy.

The final stop on his visit is a tour of the Museum of Tolerance at the Simon Wiesenthal Center.

Plenty of interest in Israel in Qatar

By STEVE RODAN

DOHA, Qatar - Mohammed Shabani is your typical Qatari. Smile at him and he smiles back.

He says this is his first time at a Middle East economic conference. He's not exactly sure what he's doing here, but he likes what he sees.

"I am small," Shabani, of the Walcar Poultry and Animal Company in Qatar, says. "I hope to meet people. The way I see it, I am starting from zero and working my way up."

Behind the scenes, however, Shabani, other Qataris, and businessmen throughout the Gulf are using this three-day conference to forge contacts with their US, European and, yes, Israeli counterparts.

Most Arab countries might be boycotting the conference, but hours after the opening, it has been declared a success. More than 2,000 people are attending and registration was closed several days ago. Although their political leaders have not attended, industrialists have arrived from Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, the Palestinian Authority, and Tunisia.

A Gulf industrialist put it this way: "The hell with the politicians. Let's get down to business."

The Qatari way of doing business is a bit of an eye-opener for Israelis. They are mild-mannered, patient and gentle - with little stomach for the hard sell. The Qataris, as well as others in the Gulf, will buy whatever they need from Israel, but they won't dare allow "Made in Israel" labels into the sheikdom.

"Look at all the computers here," an Israeli businessman said. "This is all Motorola technology from Israel. But you won't find any proof of it on the equipment."

Qataris' dinners are opulent. Scores of Eastern European models have been flown in. Dressed in Qatar Air uniforms, they serve as hostesses for the guests.

Telecommunications is readily available. Just outside the conference, a trio plays Western pop in the huge lounge of the Doha Sheraton.

"Our aim is to enhance investment opportunities in the region," says Qatari State Minister Ahmed Mahmoud, who is also general coordinator of the conference.

Israeli industrialists appear to be enjoying themselves. Koor chairman Benny Gaon is already meeting with investors from Bahrain. Ya'acov Nimrodi walks the halls smiling from ear to ear. "My impressions?" he asks. "It's still early. Come back tomorrow and I'll tell you more."

The Israelis are not dominating this conference. An Israeli diplomatic source says the proportion of Israelis in Doha is less than at an international cardiology conference in Europe. The result is that Arab and Gulf businessmen are less paranoid about meeting them.

"Believe me, there is plenty of interest in us here," an Israeli who has been doing business in the Gulf says. "The lack of Arab political support doesn't help us, but business is being done and everybody knows it."

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of

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The funeral will leave today, Monday, November 17, 1997 at 14:45 from "Beth Haahesed" (opposite Herzog Hospital) Givat Shaul, Jerusalem.

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مكتبة التوفيق

Crisis pro
Egypt Arafat
PALESTINIAN
Iraq US cooperation

Crisis prompts gas-mask renewals

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The country's leaders continue to insist there is a low probability of Iraq firing missiles at Israel, but more citizens seem to be taking advantage of the US-Iraq confrontation to renew gas masks left on the shelf since the Gulf War.

The Home Front Command (HFC) noted its gas-mask distribution centers are open from 1 p.m. until 8 p.m., and senior officers insist there are enough masks for everyone. Those with queries can telephone the HFC hot line at (08) 927-777.

HFC officers have expressed ironic satisfaction over the sudden interest in chemical warfare protection. Before the tensions with Iraq, the army had resorted to telemarketing and "drive-thru" options to get people to come to the distribution centers.

Since the Gulf War, the HFC has improved the warning system after launches of surface-to-surface missiles are detected. In the Gulf War, warnings were delayed precious minutes while an American satellite detecting a launch would signal the US, after which a call would be put through to Israel.

Today, a warning is automatically relayed to Israel by a communications satellite in almost real time. Once the warning arrives it takes just nine seconds to activate a network of sirens installed in all areas under serious threat. So far the Home Front Command has installed some 350 sirens and expects to have them in every area by the end of the year.

Deputy Defense Minister Silvan Shalom, meanwhile, said Israel has nothing to do with the current crisis and there is little chance Saddam Hussein would or could fire missiles at us. "The probability for the moment [of an Iraqi attack on Israel] doesn't appear to be very high," Shalom told Israel Radio.

During the Gulf War, Iraq fired 39 Scud missiles armed with conventional warheads at Israel in an attempt to draw Israel into the war and break up the Arab coalition against him. Under immense US pressure, Israel refrained from retaliating against the attacks.

Veteran Israel Air Force officers said the current US buildup will present a formidable strike threat against most targets in Iraq, including deeply buried bunkers. Once the aircraft carrier USS George Washington joins the battle groups in the Persian Gulf, there will be nearly 300 strike aircraft in the area. "The US armed forces have



A soldier of the Home Front Command helps fit a gas mask on a child in Tel Aviv yesterday. (Israel Sam)

improved in every area of combat systems since the Gulf War," said Col. (res.) Shmuel Gordon, a former squadron commander and today a senior analyst in military doctrine at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.

According to Gordon, the US forces have enhanced their bunker-penetration capabilities in the past six years and have warheads that can blast through "almost any bunker." He dismissed reports from Washington that weapons in the hands of the US could only penetrate three to four meters of concrete. Saddam is believed to have placed his chemical and biological weapons deep underground.

Gordon said the US, despite the cut in defense budgets and draw-down of equipment, is actually in a

better position to strike at Iraq today due to the immense battle experience acquired during the Gulf War. "Their main improvement is their understanding of modern combat. They have been able to integrate their 'system-of-systems' first tested in 1991. The air force is a great machine for war; its organization, its weapons, and its soldiers are very confident. I believe that if they are consistent, the air force can do anything," Gordon said.

Maj.-Gen. Avihu Bin-Nun, OC Air Force during the Gulf War, told Israel Radio yesterday he believes there is nothing preventing Israel from striking back at Iraq should it launch an attack on Israel now.

"Today there is no concern that we might shoot down American jets in the region and there is no need to coordinate with anyone the ability

of Israel to act," Bin-Nun said.

Aryeh Dean Cohen adds:

The Union of Local Authorities reported yesterday that the shelters at hundreds of schools throughout the country are too small to hold all their pupils.

Shmuel Abuav, chairman of the ULA's education committee, said the construction of the shelters in older schools lacking them has been frozen in recent years.

"If a decision is made to operate schools regularly even in a time of emergency, we must prepare a plan for preparing emergency classrooms for those pupils in the hundreds of schools where there is no [safe] place for them," Abuav said, adding that shelters in community centers, youth clubs, and public buildings could be used in an emergency.

Iraqi dissidents: US must kill Saddam

By JAY BUSHINSKY

LONDON - Unless the US and its allies carry out pinpoint bombing operations or a sophisticated ground attack aimed at eliminating Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, the current military buildup will be of no avail, his exiled countrymen here say.

According to Nabeel Musawi, a senior official of the Iraqi National Congress, Saddam's political infrastructure must be targeted and his power base destroyed. "Launching more cruise missiles or hitting strategic targets with carrier-based planes will have little effect," he said.

Musawi spelled out the tactical steps that should be taken in an interview immediately before embarking for Turkey, where he is scheduled to confer with policymakers about the use of the Incirlik air base for sorties against targets in Iraq. He said a crucial meeting on this subject will take place in Ankara tomorrow.

Deploing the misery and isolation imposed on his people by Saddam's totalitarian regime, Musawi said a nation of 18 million citizens surely can produce a personality capable of rescuing Iraq

from tyranny.

He rejected the notion that Saddam is the only person capable of preserving Iraq's integrity and preventing it from splitting into three separate entities: the Kurdish north, Sunni center, and Shi'ite south. This was the rationale given for president George Bush's decision to stop the Gulf War immediately after Iraqi forces fled Kuwait.

"That was a tragic mistake that cost 1.5 million Iraqi lives," Musawi said.

The INC operates in total secrecy. Its office in central London is concealed from the public and protected from Saddam's hit teams by a false name on its mailbox and the absence of any tell-tale symbols at the entrance. Access or entry is given only to those who are above suspicion to the INC.

Because of the current crisis over Iraq's expulsion of the UN inspection team's American members, INC representatives have fanned out to several world capitals lobbying for adoption of their anti-Saddam strategy.

Its leader, Ahmed Chalabi, is in Washington where he and his local colleagues succeeded in steering a resolution through Congress that

condemns Saddam as a perpetrator of crimes against humanity and demanding that he be tried by an international tribunal.

An INC spokesman warned that a new wave of US air strikes aimed at doing away with Saddam may be counter-productive. "They would put his son Qusay into power, a man who is even more dangerous and sadistic than his father."

But the overriding issue, he said, is that Saddam has been able to invest billions in weapons of mass destruction despite the economic sanctions. He recalled that three years ago, the Iraqi ruler said he had only "a few grams" of lethal VX nerve gas. After that the figure rose to "two kilograms," then to 3.3 tons, and now the amount produced in clandestine installations is 17 tons.

"This can kill the world's population," he said. "It is a weapon of terror."

Musawi was bitter about the Palestinian expressions of support for Saddam. "The PLO was funded by him in Iraq and its cadres carried out terrorist missions against our members, attacking Saddam's political foes inside Iraq and those of us who are based abroad."

Iraq-expert Michael Eppel:

Saddam hiding bio-weapon plants

By DAVID RIDGE

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein may have engineered the present crisis to keep UN inspectors from discovering a hideout for making biological weapons, Dr. Michael Eppel, an Iraq expert, said yesterday.

"It is very possible, according to many sources, that the supervisors were getting close to finding a place used in Saddam's program for the development of non-conventional weapons," said Eppel, of Haifa University's Middle East History Department. "It is quite likely therefore that Saddam brought about the crisis to prevent them from finding it."

Eppel said Saddam's main aims since the Gulf War have been to lift the economic sanctions and end the

supervision of its arms development. "The question was what was more important to him. The answer appears to be the lifting of the weapons supervision," he said.

"He is ready to suffer an American strike if necessary, even at the expense of delaying an easing of the sanctions on Iraq, so that he can continue with his secret non-conventional arms program."

Eppel maintained that with weapons of mass destruction Iraq would become a regional power and this was more important to Saddam in the long run. He said UN supervisors had apparently started searching for additional sites. "The information was that Saddam was developing biological weapons and not only chemical and atomic capabilities," said Eppel.

"Biological weapons, by their

very nature, are relatively easy to hide. They could be inside food laboratories or other seemingly innocuous places.

"The supervisors began to look in new directions and found many new things, but not everything," Eppel said. He said the possibility that they were getting close to Saddam's secret laboratories could explain the timing of the crisis.

"It appears that he created the crisis now because there was a danger that something unpleasant, from his point of view, would be made known to the world," Eppel said.

Saddam was gambling on differences of opinion in the UN Security Council over how to handle the crisis and the likelihood the US would have difficulty putting together the same coalition it mustered before the Gulf War, Eppel said.

Egypt: Arafat pessimistic about peace

CAIRO (Reuters) - Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat is pessimistic about the future of peacemaking, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said yesterday. Arafat was in Cairo to brief President Hosni Mubarak on his meeting with US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and to discuss the stalemate in peace talks.

"President Arafat told President Mubarak his view of the American role and what he heard from Albright. Arafat is still pessimistic about the overall situation until a true movement takes place on the ground," Moussa told reporters. "The United States, as a sponsor of the peace process, must intensify its activity... in the face of this dangerous regression and the breakdown in the peace process."

Albright held inconclusive meetings with Arafat in Bern on Saturday and with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in London the previous day.

Last week Israeli and Palestinian negotiators held

talks in Washington. US and Israeli officials reported some progress but Arabs said there had been none.

Asked for Egypt's reaction to the impasse, Moussa said: "Egypt's position is clear and our reaction is clear too by not going to Doha with the aim of sending a clear message to the Israeli government - that this situation cannot go on."

Egypt, along with several other Arab states, refused to attend the Middle East and North African economic conference, which opened in Doha yesterday, citing a lack of progress in peace efforts.

"It is not possible that Netanyahu's stands continue to be negative and that Israeli policies continue to be negative while Arabs are required to have positive policies," Moussa said. "Negativity breeds negativity and in this way there is breakdown. Rescuing the peace process must take place by moving Israeli policies from their frozen state and implementing what has already been agreed upon."

PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

Iraq-US confrontation

Al-Hayat al-Jadida editor Hafez Barghouti writes that, "Immediately after the Gulf War, [former US secretary of state] James Baker spied on the Arab States in order to bring the Arab capitals, transformed into obedient females under Israeli protection, after they were already put under American protection during the Gulf War."

"An American U-2 plane, which flies now in Iraqi skies, says to the Arab capitals... 'Your turn will come,' because no capital will be saved from American punishment... The target of the abhorrent display which is conducted on Iraq's body is not the Iraqi regime alone, rather the Iraqi people and its history as well."

In another column over the weekend Barghouti writes: "History does not remember the United States, but it remembers Iraq, the cradle of civilization, and Palestine, the cradle of religions... On the other hand, the murderers of humanity, the creators of the barbaric culture, and the blood-suckers of nations, are doomed to death and destined to shrink to a microscopic size, like Micronesia."

Fatah support for Iraq

Al-Hayat al-Jadida reports that the Fatah movement has called upon all Arab forces to unite "in order to face the challenge confronting the entire Arab nation and in order to end the suffering of the brother Iraqi people, who has

never been stingy in sacrificing for Palestine and in defending the Arab nation as a whole."

The Fatah statement denounces the "latest American escalation" and calls on the UN to "put an end to this escalation, and find a peaceful solution to the fabricated crisis against Iraq."

Interview with Abu Ala

Al-Quds publishes an interview with Ahmed Qurie (Abu Ala), Speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council and top Palestinian negotiator, in which he states that the most important topic on the agenda is the recognition of the Palestinian people's right of return. "This is a basic question," he says, "without which the conflict will continue and the Palestinian problem remain without a solution. We reject Netanyahu's proposals regarding a line that is parallel to the 'Green Line' and its false borders. We will not accept any settler or any settlement on our lands." Qurie says the Palestinian people must enjoy the right of self-determination and the right to establish an independent state with its capital Jerusalem. "The state means Jerusalem and a state without Jerusalem as its capital will not be a state."

Histadrut group in Gaza

Al-Quds reports that a delegation representing the Histadrut's Jewish-Arab Institute, headed by Mahmood Mafra and Aharon

Ya'akov, visited the Gaza City Council. Mayor Awn Shawa emphasized that "the Israelis who support peace need to pressure Netanyahu's extremist government in order to bring it down or force it to change its policies. We thought we will become a new Singapore in the Middle East, but unfortunately we were dragged into a turbulence of arbitrary steps that have caused us to question Israel's intentions."

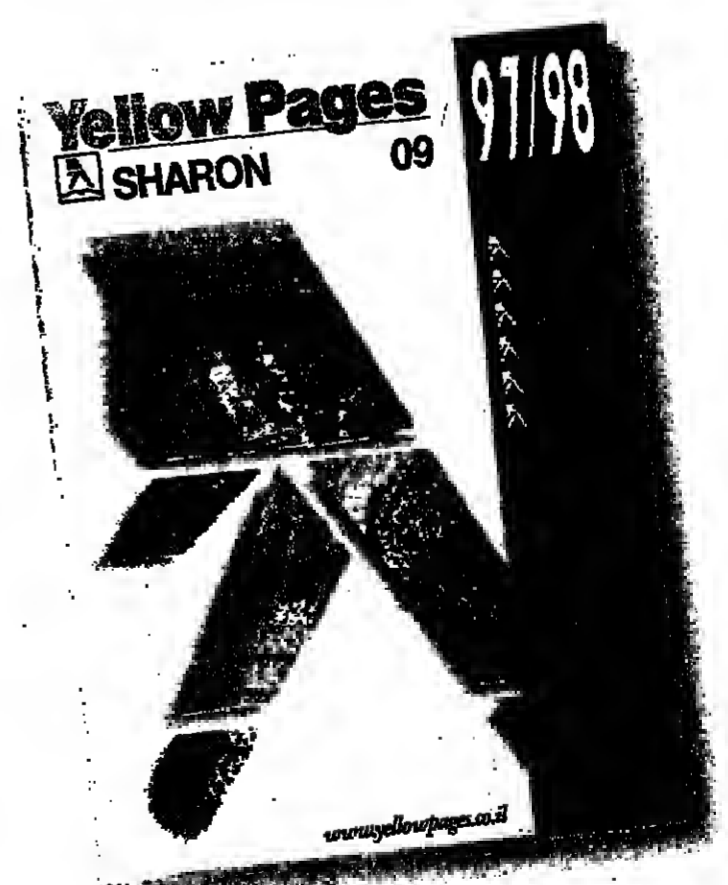
Myth of superior Jews

Tawfik Abu Shomar writes in *Al-Quds* that the myth the Jews are superior to everyone else has been disseminated throughout the world.

"The Jews put their best efforts into creating this myth. Every genius has to be of Jewish descent... any talented military commander is Jewish. The Jews succeeded, during their history, to turn the massacres they were subjected to into a 'weapon of mass destruction' against their adversaries and used the weapon of antisemitism in an impressive way. In order to establish their 'superiority' the Jews... claimed that the founder of modern psychology, Sigmund Freud, is a Jew; that the father of the theory of relativity, who changed the face of science, Albert Einstein, is a Jew, and that Isaac Newton, who discovered Gravity, is wholeheartedly a Jew."

Translation of articles courtesy of *The Palestinian Media Review*, a non-profit Israeli organization that monitors and translates Palestinian media.

THE SHARON (09) YELLOW PAGES IN ENGLISH



The Sharon Yellow Pages Directory in English will shortly be sent free of charge, by mail, to all Jerusalem Post subscribers in the 09 dialing area. It will also be available at all news stands in that area, on November 21, 1997.

GOLDEN PAGES
LET YOUR FINGERS DO THE WALKING

Neurologist suspects Arafat has Parkinson's

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Claims that Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat is suffering from Parkinson's disease were denied yesterday by his adviser, Dr. Ahmed Tih, a gynecologist. A statement issued by Arafat's wife, Suha, charged that the speculations were part of an Israeli propaganda campaign.

Neurologist Prof. Avinoam Rekhess of Hadassah-University Hospital in Ein Kerem said in an Israel Radio interview yesterday that he suspects Arafat is suffering from the disease. Rekhess said footage taken of Arafat at a press conference in Switzerland on Saturday showed a marked tremor in his lower lip and at times the chairman's facial expression appeared to freeze.

Rekhess said that, although he could only give a guarded diagnosis based on a video clip, he suspects Arafat is in the early stages of the disease and advises him to seek medical assistance. He noted that medication could help alleviate Arafat's symptoms.

Rekhess added that, as the disease progresses, it attacks the body's motor system, causing difficulty in speaking and movement. If Arafat is indeed suffering from Parkinson's, said Rekhess, he will not be able to hide the symptoms for much longer. Asked if the disease can impair one's men-



Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat speaks to the press yesterday after returning to Gaza City from Cairo. (AP)

tal faculties, Rekhess said it has been known to affect the mental state. He advised Arafat, who is known for his arduous work hours, to

slow down.

At the televised press conference on Saturday reporters asked Arafat about his health and red eyes. The chairman attributed his red eyes to lack of sleep, saying, "I had to work all night and I had to leave early in the morning." Arafat also noted that his eyes have been red since a head injury he sustained when he narrowly survived a 1992 plane crash in the Libyan desert, a fact Rekhess said may have contributed to Parkinson's.

Reuters adds:

Arafat's appearance at the Saturday news conference with US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in Bern, Switzerland, prompted a reporter to enquire publicly about his health.

To journalists who had not seen him publicly for a while, Arafat seemed paler and thinner. His eyes watered and, most of all, his lower lip trembled and he spoke with pronounced pauses when he answered questions.

A senior US official who sees Arafat frequently later told reporters: "I see him a lot and I will tell you that I don't notice the difference." Meetings with Arafat often run three or four hours, taxing for anyone, but "I do not see a difference in his performance or behavior," the official added.



Ahmed Bilal, 15, and his mother Kamla yesterday await the arrival of the heart and lungs of Hassan Ali Jarawish, 7, killed last week in an incident in Bethlehem. (AP)

3 children get Arab boy's organs

By Jerusalem Post Staff

Three children - 15, 12, and 14 months - were doing well at the Schneider Children's Medical Center for Israel in Petah Tikva yesterday, after receiving organs from Hassan Ali Jarawish, the seven-year-old boy killed last week by an IDF rubber bullet in Bethlehem.

All three of the recipients are Arabs - but hospital sources said Jarawish's parents were willing for the organs to go to any child who needed them. The decision was taken according to medical urgency and tissue suitability, the hospital said.

Ahmed Bilal, 15, from Abu Sinaan near Acre, who suffers from cystic fibrosis, received Hassan's heart and lungs. Within hours of the operation, he was disconnected from a respirator and able to talk. "I don't know what to say, I

want to thank the father of the boy so much. I hope his other children will be healthy and that what happened to their son will not happen to any other children." Ahmed's mother Kamla said moments after he awoke from surgery, AP reported. Ismail Hassani, 12, of Ibilin, who was born with a genetic disease whose lack of an enzyme causes hyperoxyluria of the liver, received a liver and kidney. His uncle said that two of the boy's four siblings died within the last few years from the disease, which resulted from the parents' being close relatives.

Atiah Ahi Gaffer, 14 months, of Rabat, was the smallest child ever to receive a kidney here, the hospital spokeswoman said. Born with a congenital disease, he weighs only seven kilos. Meanwhile, Sheha Hospital reported that over the weekend it had implanted its third artificial

heart. Eliahu Pinhas, 49, the recipient, had been waiting for 18 months. He agreed to undergo the surgery after meeting with Yishai EINHINDER, the first to receive the artificial booster heart. Pinhas was already walking around in the department and thinking about being discharged. Forty-five percent of the public are willing, "in principle," to donate their organs for transplant after their death, while an additional 22% have not yet decided, but only 7% have signed an ADI card that donates their organs, according to a new Bar-Ilan University survey.

Dr. Peri Kedem-Friedrich, of the psychology department, said there is a large gap between the theoretical acceptance of organ donations and actually taking a practical step toward it. This gap, she said, could be narrowed through additional information campaigns.

Report: Hospitals need policy for VIP treatment

By JUDY SEGEL

All hospitals should formulate a detailed, written plan for dealing with "very important persons" so that their treatment does not come at the expense of "ordinary" patients.

So say Drs. Hanoch Hod and Ya'acov Yahav of Sheba Hospital, which has prepared such a plan and recommends its adoption by other institutions.

Writing in the latest issue of *Harefuah*, the journal of the Israel Medical Association, they even distinguish between "VVIPs" (very very important persons) and "VIPs" (very important persons).

The former are those who arrive with state security guards, while the others can be any other famous person, from politicians and businessmen to actors and sportsmen. The VVIPs require

special handling because of security problems and media demands for information about their condition.

Hod and Yahav note that even experienced doctors may be affected by the "VIP syndrome" and get nervous while treating such people. The rule that first one must do no harm is applicable to the treatment of every patient, but with celebrities it may cause hesitation that can cause the patient's condition to deteriorate.

At Sheba, a very senior internal medicine specialist or surgeon must treat VVIPs and VIPs. The trauma team is activated if the patient is wounded or otherwise injured and the hospital's top administrators and physicians are informed. Only senior staffers are allowed to treat the patient, unless a less veteran doctor is asked to do so.

IMA sanctions in 10th week

By JUDY SEGEL

Sanctions by the Israel Medical Association's hospital doctors go into their 10th week today, with outpatient clinics and diagnostic institutes in some public hospitals to be shut down and operating rooms to be closed in others.

Nearly 16,000 elective operations have been postponed in the public hospitals since the sanctions were begun to protest against the Treasury's refusal to finance 360 additional doctors' jobs slots.

Outpatient clinics and diagnostic institutes (radiology, gastro, pathology, genetics, electrophysiology of the eye, EEG, EMG, ERG, cytology, and nuclear medicine) will be closed in all hospitals from Kfar Sava northward, including the Rabin Medical Center's three campuses - except for Laniado in Netanya, which as a no-strike clause in all workers'

contracts. The dialysis, intensive care units, oncology services, and neonatal intensive care units will function normally.

Hospitals whose surgical theaters will be shut down (except for emergencies) are those located south of Kfar Sava, including Jerusalem.

Over the weekend, the IMA sent the prime minister and health and finance ministers its response to a Treasury proposal for mediation of the issue. The IMA is unwilling for mediation to deal with whether the Treasury would fill the job slots to which it committed itself in writing last March, but only how it would pay for them. The IMA responded that if the Treasury is ready to deal with funding of the extra manpower, its doctors would halt their sanctions, but only if deliberations ran no longer than 10 days. No comment has yet been received from the ministries.

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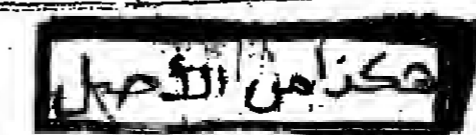
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Former GSS informer sued for NIS 5 million Amir's brother takes Raviv to court

By BATSHEVA TSUR

Haggai Amir, convicted of complicity in the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, has filed a NIS 5,000,000 suit against General Security Service informer Avishai Raviv in Tel Aviv District Court.

It contends that Raviv lied, under oath, when he said during Amir's trial that he was not an agent provocateur.

Amir was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for not turning in his brother, Yigal, who consulted with him about his intention to assassinate Rabin.

Citing the newly published, but formerly classified appendices to the Shamgar Commission Report on the assassination, Amir's brief states: "Avishai Raviv was, during the entire period relevant to the claim, a GSS agent provocateur who... incited and encouraged those around him - including the plaintiff and his brother Yigal - to murder prime minister Yitzhak Rabin."

By "perjuring" himself, Raviv prevented Amir from raising the so-called entrapment defense

which is considered a mitigating factor in sentencing, the suit contends. An entrapment defense argues that a defendant who commits a crime after a law-enforcement agent instigates or incites him should be given a lighter sentence.

The suit also quotes previously undisclosed notes from the protocol of Yigal Amir's trial.

"On page 222 of the protocol, Eran Ozhilov, formerly a close friend and roommate of the defendant, testified that in 1995, 'Avishai said things to the accused [Amir] on a certain Shabbat and I heard

them. Avishai said that *din rodef* applied to Rabin - a death sentence - and whoever carried it out would be a *raddik*," the suit states.

"Haggai Amir has reliable witnesses to establish that Avishai Raviv attempted to incite to kill the prime minister, including an individual who has remained anonymous until now," his lawyer said yesterday in a statement released to the media. "This witness is prepared to testify that Raviv had engaged in a detailed plan with him to kill Yitzhak Rabin in the summer of 1993."

Meanwhile, Jerusalem Magistrate's Court yesterday postponed hearings in the case of a 19-year-old accused of illegal activities allegedly committed in the company of Raviv in Hebron three years ago.

The court agreed to postpone the trial until January, by when Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein is expected to hand down his ruling on bringing charges against Raviv. The magistrate noted that recent developments had led to the decision to put off the hearings.

NEWS

in brief

Ben-Ari remains in jail

The Jerusalem District Court yesterday refused an appeal from the lawyer of Zvi Ben-Ari, (formerly Gregory Lerner), to release him from detention until his trial resumes. Judge Eliahu Ben-Zimra said there appeared to be evidence to warrant keeping Ben-Ari in jail. "The accused's silence and refusal to answer the charges, which is a matter of policy for him, does not make his case easier," Ben-Zimra wrote. The trial is to begin at the end of March. Ben-Ari was charged September 7 with 14 counts of fraud, blackmail and attempted blackmail for allegedly trying to defraud banks in Israel, Russia and Europe of some \$100 million. *Batsheva Tsur and Irit*

Maryland teen's remand extended

The remand of the Maryland teenager, S., whose extradition on murder charges is being sought by the US, was extended for 15 days by Jerusalem Magistrate's Court yesterday. As of yesterday, the Justice Ministry had not received a formal request for extradition from the Maryland legal authorities. *Batsheva Tsur and Irit*

Jewish prisoners in US seek penpals

Many Jewish prisoners in the US have asked Prisoners Rehabilitation Authority director-general Avraham Hoffmann to find Israeli penpals who will send them material about the country, according to the authority. Many have expressed their wish to immigrate after their release from prison, the authority said. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Pirate radio station shut down for third time

Police yesterday, for the third time, raided the "Acropolis" pirate radio station broadcasting from South Tel Aviv, arrested the owners, and confiscated the equipment. The station interferes with air traffic control frequencies at Ben-Gurion Airport, leading to tower to complain to the Communications Ministry which identified the source of the pirate station. *Helen Koye*

Fair highlights study in Great Britain

An Education Fair featuring representatives from over 40 British universities offering courses open to Israeli students takes place today and tomorrow at the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel. Sponsored by the British Council, it will also feature representatives of British schools conducting programs here. *Aryeh Dean Cohen*

Arens joins Hollinger board

Former defense and foreign minister Moshe Arens has been appointed a member of the Hollinger International Inc. Advisory Board. Arens replaces the late Chaim Herzog. Hollinger International is the parent company of The Jerusalem Post. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Coffee, tea, or Lotto?

Mifal Hapayis director Ya'acov Bardugo tells a Tel Aviv press conference, launching a new NIS 4 million Lotto marketing campaign yesterday, that next year gamblers will be able to buy lottery tickets at cafes. Bardugo said he expects the lottery to bring in a total of NIS 2.2 billion this year. *Michal Yudelman*



Ya'acov Bardugo (Yad Sorek/Israel Sun)



Following in his footsteps
Pastor Steve Sumrall (left) and his brother, Pete, plant a tree at the Jewish National Fund's Kiryat Menahem tree-planting center in Jerusalem yesterday in memory of their dad, Father Lester Sumrall of South Bend, Indiana, who brought more than 15,000 pilgrims to Israel during his lifetime. The brothers are leading a group of 215 pilgrims. (Joe Makolot)

Friends arrive in India to search for missing backpacker

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

As five Israelis arrive yesterday in Manali in northern India to search for their missing friend, 26-year-old Nadav Mizner, his family continued their vigil by the phone.

Since September 18, the family has not received any phone calls or letters from Nadav, who had been in regular contact with them since leaving Israel on July 29.

Nadav had planned his trip to India for close to a year, according to his sister-in-law Tali. In the summer he left his army job and began finalizing plans for the trip. "He went to the Indian Embassy and collected as much information as possible and even learned to speak, read and write a little Hindi," Tali said.

After he left on the trip, Nadav kept in contact every 10 days or so. After they had not heard from him in several weeks last month, his parents began to fear for his safety.

At first the family telephoned the Israeli Embassy in India and gave them information about their son and his photo. A leaflet with a photo of Nadav with a request written in Hindi and English asking for information regarding his whereabouts was distributed in the area where he was last seen, and other leaflets were handed to travelers in the region.

Two Israeli travelers contacted the family to say they had seen Nadav two days after he had spoken with his family. "He was in Manali then and discussed different trips with them," she said.

In the last 10 days, friends and relatives stepped up activities and began to consider sending a group of Nadav's friends to India to search for him, Tali said.

Some of the group served with Nadav in the army and knew him well, she said. "Within a week we planned their trip and organized everything. The Israeli Embassy in New Delhi assisted us and met the group when they landed yesterday," she said.

Tali said her home in Kibbutz Hazerim had turned into a communication center, which is manned by herself and her husband daily. "Today we hope to get a fax machine," she said.

In an interview on Israel Radio, Menahem Marcus, a well-known tour guide who has assisted several families searching for their children missing in the Far East, said it was always safer to travel in numbers.

At one time Marcus said he thought of establishing a center to assist the families whose siblings disappear but said such a center could not be set up on a voluntary basis if it was to be effective.

His advice to Israeli youth, apart from traveling in numbers, is to try and collect as much information as possible about the country, including knowing what locations are forbidden.

Travelers must learn all the potential risks relating to the area they plan to travel in and should study them carefully. "A u internet site has also been opened at www.geocities.com/tokyo/3234/nadav.hgms.

Parents keep children home

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Parents of some 1,000 pupils in Efrat's Orot Etzion school kept their children home yesterday to protest what they claim is the dangerous lack of cleanliness at both the boys' and girls' schools.

Parents and local council officials were meeting last night to try to work out a temporary solution which would convince the parents to send their children back to school.

According to one of the parents, the situation at the school got so bad last week that some girls preferred to go to the bathroom outside.

"Some of the girls even set up an outhouse of sorts," the woman said. She said a meeting with local council chairman Yisroel Ahimani late Saturday took place "within range of a bathroom you couldn't even get near, it smelled so bad."

The parents insisted a minimal level of cleaning take place before classes began, and when this didn't happen, they went ahead with their threatened boycott.

"It's really horrible," Phyllis Strauss, who has five children in the school, said yesterday. "It's very humiliating that no one is going to clean the school."

"If they can't find the workers, we can't open the school. It has to be a reasonable contract we have to see, a regular schedule from tomorrow till the end of the school year."

Michael Berkowitz, who has four children in the school, noted that the school nurse recommended it be closed down because of the hygiene problems, and after a teacher at the school contracted hepatitis.

Health Ministry regulations require 4.1 cleaning personnel for the girls' school and 3.0 for the boys' facility, but of late the boys' school has had one full-time cleaning person, and the girls' school none.

Ahimani denied Health Ministry officials had advised the schools be closed, and said a ministry official who visited the schools yesterday said they are fit for classes, although "more substantial" cleaning is necessary at the girls' school. He asked the parents to give the council more time to make new cleaning arrangements.

But Strauss said: "Today the school was cleaned, but there were no kids there. My house looks clean too when no one's there."

Ahimani admitted there have been problems, and that parents have "legitimate complaints," but said they did "not justify the boycott."

Hired cleaners who replaced a previous cleaning service did not do an adequate job, "and we are looking into replacing them with another cleaning service," he said.

Zionism-Holocaust link debated at Yad Vashem

By ELLI WOHLGELERWITZ

A two-day conference on "Zionism and Zionist Policy in Regard to the Holocaust" opens today at Yad Vashem, and will highlight both the 100th anniversary of Zionism, and the 50th anniversary of Israel.

Some 25 topics are on the agenda, including Zionist activities on behalf of European Jewry during the war, the attitudes of Zionist activists in Germany, the US, Western Europe and Poland, to the rise of the Nazis, work done by Orthodox rabbis and the heads of yeshivot during World War II, and the Zionist youth movements in France and Romania.

"We are dealing with topics that have never been discussed at all," although doctoral theses have been written about some of them, said Yehuda Bauer, Professor at the Hebrew University and director of The International Center for Holocaust at Yad Vashem.

Bauer said another important topic would be "the new attitudes by historians to the question of 'shilul hagolah,' or the negative attitude taken toward the Diaspora, and what effect did that have on the attitude of the Jewish yishuv."

He said that historians addressing the Hebrew-language conference "do not include any of the so-called post-Zionists."

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China frees top pro-democracy dissident

By BENJAMIN KANG LIM

DETROIT (Reuters) - A Northwest Airlines flight carrying China's top dissident Wei Jingsheng from Beijing landed at Detroit Metropolitan Airport yesterday, after he was freed on medical parole from a 14-year term in a Chinese labor camp.

Wei had been jailed for pro-democracy activities. The 1997 Nobel Peace Prize candidate was accompanied by an American diplomat.

Almost two decades of solitary confinement in Chinese "lao-gai" - reform-through-labor colonies - had ruined the 47-year-old dissident's health, his brother said, but Wei was cheerful and unbowed. He expected to return.

"He is in high spirits, because he is the sort of person who is always in good spirits," Wei Xiaotao said.

"He hopes to have a quiet medical check-up, have a rest and read some books," the brother said in an interview. "He hopes he will come back one day."

US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright welcomed the release of Wei, who shot to fame in the late 1970s pleading for Western-style democracy in "Big Character Posters" pasted up on Beijing's Democracy Wall.

"Secretary Albright welcomes his release on medical parole," US State Department spokesman James Rubin said during her visit to Qatar.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel hailed the Chinese government's action in freeing Wei as "a significant humanitarian step," which followed intensive international efforts to secure his release.

"I hope that now a humanitarian solution will also be found for other jailed human rights activists," Kinkel added.

Beijing's international airport was bristling with leather-jacketed security police yesterday as Wei was driven up to the steps of his aircraft in an official Chinese vehicle carrying judicial officials and US diplomats.

China's official Xinhua news agency mentioned the release in a terse two-sentence statement.

"Wei Jingsheng has been released on parole for medical treatment, because of his illness by Chinese judicial departments," it quoted a Justice Ministry official as saying.

"Wei has gone abroad for medical treatment."

Wei's freedom came just three weeks after a summit between US President Bill Clinton and Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Washington, where the two leaders sparred over human rights.

US administration officials had been pressing for the release of Wei, and fellow dissident and Nobel Peace Prize nominee Wang Dan, before the summit.

But Wang remained in jail, where he is serving an 11-year sentence. Like Wei, he was convicted of plotting to overthrow the government.

Wei was let out of a salt works near Beijing on Saturday evening and met his family briefly in a hotel in the capital before heading for the airport.

"I think he is the kind of person who will not change the ideals he has always been working for," his brother said.

Wei was jailed in 1995 for 14 years. He had earlier served all but six months of a 15-year sentence imposed in 1979 for his role in the 1978-79 Democracy Wall movement and for leaking secrets to a foreign reporter.

During his brief interlude of freedom - engineered by Beijing

authorities to boost their bid to host the 2000 Summer Olympics - he turned down offers to go into exile, according to one of his former aides. The Olympics bid failed.

His brother said Wei now suffered from heart problems and high blood pressure, and he was getting worse.

"He used to need one tank of oxygen each week, but now it's one tank every three days," he said.

Wei, a former electrician at Beijing zoo, is believed to have angered the late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping personally with his call for a "fifth modernization" - democracy - a wry twist on Deng's Four Modernizations reform drive.

China has previously released dissidents to appease its Western human rights critics. Some have sunk into obscurity, and it was unclear how Wei would fare in the faction-ridden world of the overseas Chinese dissident community.

"On the surface, what will be spoken of in the next few weeks is how he will reinvigorate the dissident movement. My opinion is he will do exactly the opposite," said Sinologist Geremie Barbe, speaking from San Francisco.

One Beijing-based diplomat said: "He's been out of circulation for most of the reform period. It will be interesting to see how he can adapt out of China and out of prison."

International human rights groups welcomed Wei's release, but urged Beijing to free all jailed political activists.

"It is very welcoming because Wei is a very ill man and urgently needs medical treatment but it is only a drop in the ocean," Robin Munro of Human Rights Watch Asia said by telephone from Hong Kong.



Wei Jingsheng (left) and fellow dissident Xu Wenli sit in Xu's Beijing home on January 27. Wei was set free following an intense campaign as his behalf in the United States. (AP)

Jordan bans 12 weekly newspapers

AMMAN (AP) - The Jordanian government yesterday revoked the licenses of 12 weekly newspapers, seven weeks after it ordered them to cease publication under an amendment to the country's press law.

Another weekly, *al-Sabeel*, which serves as the mouthpiece of the Islamic Action Front, was warned that it might be closed

by Saturday if it doesn't increase its capital, one of the provisions of the amendment passed in May.

The weeklies have complained the government is targeting them because of their criticism of government policy and the peace treaty with Israel. Many of the weeklies are affiliated with hard-line Arab nationalist

and fundamentalist parties. King Hussein has warned that his patience is wearing thin with the weeklies' sensational reports, which he described as damaging to Jordan's image and to the values of its society.

Under the amendment, the weeklies must raise their capital or employ editors-in-chief with at least 10 years of experience.

The weeklies failed to meet a three-month deadline for complying with the press law that expired Saturday, said Bilal Tal, a director general at the Information Ministry's press and publications department.

There was no immediate comment from the weeklies, which were ordered to cease publication on October 24.

Mandela in Saudi Arabia for tighter defense ties

RIYADH (AP) - South African President Nelson Mandela arrived yesterday for his first official visit to Saudi Arabia, to promote trade and defense ties with the oil-rich kingdom.

He was greeted at the airport by King Fahd and Crown Prince Abdullah.

Among Mandela's high-level delegation is Defense Minister Joe Modise, Mining and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad.

The presence of defense and energy ministers indicates further discussions might take place on a possible \$1.5 billion oil-for-arms deal with the Saudi government.

Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan visited South Africa in September to discuss the deal, which could include the sale of G6 motorized artillery pieces and anti-aircraft weapons. If finalized, it would be the largest arms deal in South African history and could create 30,000 jobs over five years.

During Sultan's visit, a report in South Africa's *Sunday* newspaper said South Africa wants to reduce its reliance on Iranian oil by buying more from Saudi Arabia. The report said Iran supplies more than two-thirds of South Africa's crude oil imports.

Although he visited Saudi Arabia in 1994, this is Mandela's first state visit. Mandela arrived at the Red Sea port city of Jiddah on Saturday and is expected to return to South Africa tomorrow.

South Africa's exports to Saudi Arabia have more than doubled from \$47 million in 1994 to \$95 million last year.

French communist leader Marchais, 77

PARIS (Reuters) - Georges Marchais, hard-line Stalinist leader of the French Communist Party for 22 years, died in a Paris hospital yesterday aged 77, party officials said.

Marchais, who retired as party chief in 1994, had a long history of heart disease. He had been admitted to the capital's Lariboisiere Hospital a week ago with cardiac and lung complications.

"I am overwhelmed by Georges Marchais's death, and I know what sadness the Communists are feeling. They all deeply respected this man, this leader," said French Communist leader Robert Hue, who has tried to modernize the party and return it to the mainstream since Marchais's retirement.

In a tribute to Hue's efforts, the Communists were rewarded with three cabinet seats after contributing to a leftist victory in last June's parliamentary election, gaining representation in a French government for the first time since 1984.

Marchais presided over the French Communist Party (PCF) during a period of steady decline in its fortunes. When he became its leader in 1972, the PCF was France's biggest opposition party, winning one out of every four votes cast in national elections. By the time he stepped down in January 1994, its

share had tumbled to 7 percent as the Soviet Communism that inspired him was discredited and finally swept away.

Critics blamed Marchais for clinging too long to Soviet ideology and moving too slowly to reform the party to bring it into the modern era.

"I am a Communist and will remain a Communist until I die," Marchais once said. In a much-quoted remark, he concluded even after its collapse that Communist rule in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe had been "globally positive."

He voiced approval of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 and fostered close ties with fellow hardliners like Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

Following his death, tributes poured in from French political leaders. "We will remember him for his generosity and combativeness," Hue said. "He gave so much of himself to his party, he represented them for so long in national and international politics, and he was so unfairly treated."

Senior Socialist Laurent Fabius praised Hue as a "very important political leader whose actions and personality helped shape the Communist Party and French public life for so

many years." "The French people had a particular tenderness for Georges Marchais," added Socialist Party leader Francois Hollande. "Whether you agreed with him or not, he brought authenticity, verve, and talent to all that he did."

He contributed greatly to the humblest people in our country, he knew how to stay the course during a particularly turbulent period in recent communist history," said Alain Boccuet, head of the communist group in the National Assembly.

Elected to the PCF's central committee in 1956 and to the party's executive politburo in 1959, Marchais effectively took over as leader in 1970 when party general secretary Waldeck Rochet fell ill. He was formally named to the top post on his predecessor's death two years later.

In 1981 Marchais stood for the French presidency, garnering 16 percent on the first ballot before withdrawing and seeing millions of communist votes switch to victorious Socialist candidate Francois Mitterrand.

The Communists entered the Socialist-led government which followed as minority partner, holding four cabinet seats until Marchais pulled them out three years later in protest at the Socialists' switch to austerity policies.

Ghali to head French-speakers' forum

HANOI (AP) - A summit of leaders from the French-speaking world concluded yesterday with the 49-member Francophonie naming its first leader and expanding its mandate from language to politics.

Former United Nations chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali was named as first secretary-general. A joint declaration expressed

interest in playing a more active role in promoting democracy and resolving regional conflicts. The Francophonie is a loose collection of French-speaking countries, or countries with links to France.

"The Francophone community is convinced that Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali will contribute to reinforcing the position of the community on the international scene," Vietnamese Deputy

Prime Minister Nguyen Thi Binh said. The newly created job of Francophonie secretary-general will be a four-year post.

Vietnam, once a key part of colonial French Indochina, was the first Asian country to play host to the summit as France maneuvered to expand its influence in the region.

The Paris-dominated Francophonie used the seventh

summit meeting to expand its interest from just preserving the role of the French language to economic and political issues.

Although French President Jacques Chirac used the forum to warn against the demise of the French language around the world, the organization is taking a pragmatic view, he said. Membership in the Francophonie is not contingent on language.

Fewer than 1 percent of Vietnam's people have a functional command of French. English has taken hold as the country's unofficial second language.

The vast majority of the 49-member linguistic alliance are former French colonies in Africa.

In recent years, the group has shifted toward political interests. At the last summit in 1995, delegates urged Nigeria to accept democratic rule in the wake of its execution of playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other dissidents.

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qu
 Home Review
 A
 Cutting
 Local
 By Helen Kaye

مكتبة القدس

All the queen's men

Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

An ominous hush hangs over Mrs. Brown, John Madden's poignant costume drama about the unlikely friendship between the grief-stricken Queen Victoria (Judi Dench), recently widowed ruler of the British Empire, and John Brown (Billy Connolly), a blunt Scottish servant assigned to look after her horses.

When the film opens in 1864, some three years after the Prince Consort's death, Victoria is still folded deep in her mourning (the late Albert's clothes and hot water for his toilet are laid out religious-

MRS. BROWN

Directed by John Madden. Screenplay by Jeremy Brock. Hebrew titles: *Had Malkute Givert Brown*, 103 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.

With Judi Dench, Billy Connolly, Antony Sher and Geoffrey Palmer

ly each night), and that hush comes by command of the queen: Windsor Castle has been rendered a tomb as the monarch has retreated completely from public life.

No one speaks unless addressed by Her Highness who can barely open her mouth to give orders without sobbing, and no one may leave the building until she says so, which is rarely. Meantimes are morbid affairs, and when Victoria shuffles down the long corridors in her billowing black dress her attendants shuffle after, almost comically, in an ant-like game of follow the leader. Although the film offers no glimpse of the queen's former happy existence, it's clear that the usually rigid rules of palace protocol have become even stiffer and more draconian since her husband's death, as if the entire court had been dutifully afflicted by a kind of catching rigor mortis, both physical and emotional, in honor of the queen.

Brown, a favorite servant of



Brown (Billy Connolly) has scant patience for etiquette.

Prince Albert, enters the picture early on and immediately makes his prickly presence felt. A strapping Highlander with a strong nose, bushy beard and upturned little braid poking from under the back of his cap, he has scant patience for either etiquette or self-pity, and in his first meeting with the queen he blurts that he's shocked to see her in such a state. She grows furious and tearfully orders him out of the room. Their stand-off then continues from a distance, as Brown takes it upon himself to saddle up the queen's white pony every day and wait for her in the garden. She has no intention, however, of going riding - and he has no intention of giving up his plan to get her out of the castle and into the fresh air. (It is, he claims without guile, what Albert would have wanted.) And so the queen is coaxed to venture out for a slow trot ... and their friendship is born, as is a national scandal.

Those ellipses, actually, are central to the movie's peculiarly haunting force. Mrs. Brown seems at first to be strangely stand-offish, as it leaves out or avoids all the most climactic moments in the relationship between the outgoing servant and his high-buttoned queen, the scenes that might explain more specifically the nature of their bond. At one point near the start of their friendship the action leaptfrogs several years ahead without comment, and it later cuts away in the middle of a platonic scene that seems poised to turn sexual. As these instances accrue, though, it becomes clear that the filmmakers' reluctance to speculate about what really happened is intentional, designed to leave respectfully unresolved (or realistically repressed) the mystery of the queen's attachment, at least in literal terms.

Instead of airing the 133-year-old royal dirty laundry, Madden and screenwriter Jeremy Brock focus their energies on creating a bond between the two main characters that makes undeniable emotional sense. The match is, on the surface at least, a bizarre one, though Brock's intelligently understated script implies that Victoria and Brown have more traits in common than differences: these are not opposites attracting, so much as two temperamentally similar people stranded at opposite ends of the long and unscalable social ladder.

Both are intensely stubborn and basically simple at heart, and both are driven by powerful feelings of loyalty and guilt. Brown's motives in wanting to rouse the queen from her depression come from a pure desire to see her get well; for all his presumption he appears completely untouched by professional aspiration. And the queen herself, though immensely powerful, lacks a certain political instinct. She is not manipulative by nature. (The film's less interesting subplot involves the caricatured-seeming machinations of prime minister Benjamin Disraeli and the Prince of Wales to draw Victoria back into public life and save their careers.) "I do not have a subtle mind," she tells Brown, quite plainly, and we see she's drawn to the same roughness in him. While everyone else around her is kowtowing and telling her what they think she wants to hear, this burly stable boy has the nerve to call her "woman." Though she flushes when he says it, it's obvious she likes the sound of the word.

Madden's direction is unflamboyant and thoughtful, and the sets and costumes work well to emphasize both the stiffness of the court and the wild solace that Victoria eventually finds in the Scottish Highlands. But the best of Mrs. Brown lingers in the unspoken realm of the glances passed between the actors. Connolly is a comedian who proves himself more than capable of serious dramatic work here: he brings to the role of Brown a compelling blend of feistiness and arrogance, charm and vulgarity. And Dench casts a formidable, fascinating and surprisingly sympathetic shadow as the queen. More than just looking the part, she brings to the role a vivid sense of the monarch's tormented inner life, and works wonders at attempting (the way Victoria would) to choke back that emotion. The struggle to maintain her dignity is, as Dench portrays it, significant as any parliamentary stand-off or major military campaign.



Does the Tel Ad series 'Florentine' herald a new age of locally produced dramas?

Tel Ad keeps a low profile

By SHAI TSUR

The new television season may be in full swing on Channel 2, but it appears that the Tel Ad broadcasting company has decided to keep a low profile. With the recent change in broadcasting days, Reshet and Keshet - Tel Ad's commercial broadcasting colleagues - have trotted out major advertising campaigns for their new high-profile programming.

Tel Ad, meanwhile, has chosen to play it cool, relying instead on the popularity of shows like *The X-Files* as well as a positive reaction to its new drama series *Florentine*. According to rules set by the Ministry of Communication with the establishment of Channel 2, the three companies vying for space trade broadcasting days annually.

The recent change has given Tel Ad Sunday and Wednesday nights. In addition, the company will broadcast on Saturdays beginning

in April.

Tel Ad's programming lineup looks much as it did last year, with the return of popular offerings such as *Gov Night* (Leila Gov), *Hortzofim*, and the inescapable *Ramat Aviv Gimmel*. *Florentine* (Sundays at 10:30 p.m.), however, appears to be the new jewel in the company's crown.

The critically acclaimed series focuses on the lives of a group of twentysomethings living in one of Tel Aviv's trendiest neighborhoods at the time of the Rabin assassination. The show has garnered kudos for its acting and writing and, in the opinion of several critics, may herald a new age of locally produced drama.

Tel Ad's second new offering, however, heralds somewhat less. *It'll Be OK* (Yihveh Beseder) is the latest attempt at prime-time success for Avri Gilad, the goofy, personable host of last year's *Katan Aleinu*. While not as treacly as that show, *It'll Be OK* does not break much new ground, either.

The program, broadcast live on Sundays at 20:30, serves as a combination talk/performance and game show.

Along with the standard interviews, *It'll Be OK* features a sort of *Family Feud* challenge where in two groups of celebrities face off. The two groups come from opposite sides of a given issue - secular versus haredi, say, or Western pop stars versus Middle Eastern stars - and attempt to answer questions about each other, often with amusing results.

The show's other twist comes in the form of Gilad's "co-host," a computer-animated figure named Shoni. Shoni is in fact operated by an actress booked up to a bunch of cutting-edge computer gizmos. The results, however, are less than cutting edge, both in the jerky quality of the computer animation and Shoni's cartoonish womanly proportions.

In a curious programming move, *It'll Be OK* appears twice on Sunday nights.

The show is followed by the investigative program *Foet* (Ovdah) with Ilana Dayan at 9:30 p.m. At the end of *Fact*, Gilad returns for *It'll Be OK* with *Avraham and Yo'ocov*, a 15-minute interview segment which also features Kobi Meidan.

This second helping attempts to capitalize on the popularity of Gilad and Meidan's morning talk show on IDF radio, a further example of the cross-pollination between the radio station and Channel 2.

Tel Ad promises a second entertainment program, with a host to be announced later, beginning in January, along with the return of Shlomo Baraba's sketch show *Bruno*.

Also, fans of *The X-Files* (Wednesdays at 10:45 p.m.) can take heart. While Tel Ad is currently showing repeats, the new season - along with the conclusion to last year's "Is Mulder Dead?" cliffhanger - will start at the beginning of January.

Cutting-edge classics draw on tradition

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Local Israeli music is enjoying a boom these days. Several of our orchestras are premiering one new work after another, usually tough, sandwiched between other more familiar works so as not to conflict too often with the conventional taste of our audiences. But the fact remains that the orchestras commission and play these new works, and this is the only way to enlarge the existing body of Israeli music as we approach the 21st century.

On Wednesday and Thursday, for example, the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra will premiere, in a light classical concert, the trombone concerto by Shimon Cohen, based on the motifs of the traditional cantillations of the Torah.

And at the end of the month, the Israel Sinfonietta Beersheba will perform the Israeli premiere of Yitzaam Leef's *Whispers and Fanfares* for trumpet and orchestra, which is bound to be a very exciting experience.

But the two works I most look forward to come from two of Israel's younger composers, two musicians who have proven that they are very talented composers who can combine their roots and traditions into exquisite modern works some of which are based on the folk and almost liturgical traditions of our nation.

Yoni Rechter hovers between the worlds

of classical and popular music. The former member of the Kaveret rock band has an obvious love of pure classical music and enjoys writing it, in addition to his regular popular hit songs. Rechter has written a work for orchestra and santir, a traditional Arab string instrument, which will be performed tonight, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday by the Ra'anana Symphonette Orchestra. The Symphonette has long been a champion of new works based on the music traditions of the various Jewish communities in

Israel and abroad. This new opus, *The Western Edge*, is based on Iranian/Arab music motifs and should be more delicate and lyrical pieces written in this day and age. It is a pity that it is part of a program that has so many other works in it. The time has come that such works should find a more important place in concert programs. And when orchestras commission such new works, they do not necessarily have to be 10 minutes long



Yoni Rechter hovers between the worlds of classical and popular music.

Local groups are happy singing the blues

By HELEN KAYE

Forget Saul on the road to Damascus. It was nothing compared to the effect the late bluesster Stevie Ray Vaughan had on Yaron Chitayat - on video. Chitayat, 33, plays an SRV electric guitar "and I have pictures of him all over my walls."

Chitayat is a member of the Texas Flood blues band - even the name comes from an SRV song - whose lead singer and bass player is 25-year-old Noam Tsur.

The drummer is Shai Miyara and the trio, together with the five-member Daily Blues band, is appearing on Thursday as part of the 14th International Guitar Festival.

The pair are both native Israelis, and blues aren't exactly an Israeli musical idiom.

"But I have always been drawn to the genre," says Tsur, who's never been to Texas, although he has visited Orlando, Atlanta, and Manhattan. Chitayat lived in Los Angeles for three years with his own heavy metal combo called Sunstroke before being stricken by the blues. "If I'd lived in Texas, I'd have come to them even earlier," he says.

Back here, the two started playing and singing together. "We went through a lot of drummers before settling on this one," says Tsur. They got their first professional gig after 18 months of work, playing in a Tel Aviv bar.

These days they perform at various clubs around town, but both have daytime jobs still.

"The Texas sound manages to be raunchy and subtle at the same time," says Chitayat. "It has a real laid-back sound."

Like Texas Flood, Daily Blues is also making its Guitar Festival debut. It has Israelis in the band, but quintet leader Dov Hammer, 30, hails from Chicago. His family "immigrated when I was seven and I've been back and forth ever since."

As a kid he saw the film *The Blues Brothers* which featured the likes of Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin, and James Brown. "It was the first time I'd been exposed to that kind of music," reminisces

Hammer, "and I went straight from the movie theater to buy the soundtrack."

From there he graduated to playing bass in his high-school rock band, switching to the harmonica when he did his IDF service "because it's easier to carry around."

Hammer started serious blues playing after his demobilization, still on the harmonica, and linked up with Canadian blues artist Ted Cooper with whom he worked for four years. Daily Blues guitarists Assaf Rosov and Ronnie Katz also worked with Cooper "and with me. They're the nucleus of the band."

This incarnation of Daily Blues has been together about

six months. They play at clubs all over the country and, like Texas Flood, the musicians all have day jobs. Hammer works as an assistant director in Educational TV.

The band's name comes from Hammer's perception of the blues as "very down-to-earth music that talks about everybody's daily life. It's music that speaks to everybody, but it isn't cheap or stupid. It has something to say."

He thinks that Texas blues are more rock oriented these days. Chicago blues, on the other hand, are "more Mississippi country blues with an urban punch."

Texas Flood and Daily Blues sing in English at the Enav Center on Thursday at 10 p.m.

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Mohammed Jarawish's example

"My son is dead... I don't care to whom his organs go if it will save lives." So said Mohammed Jarawish, the Palestinian father of a seven-year-old boy who died after being shot in the head by a rubber bullet fired by an IDF soldier repelling stonethrowers.

The decision of Ali Jarawish's parents to donate his organs to anyone who needed them, Jew or Arab, was a refreshing act of humanity which now may save the lives of three Israeli-Arab children.

According to the IDF, Ali was shot by mistake when he was caught in the line of fire between soldiers and Palestinians rioters near Rachel's Tomb. The IDF also claims the Palestinian Police refused repeated requests that they quell the rioting, which occurred in an area where Palestinians have security responsibility. If so, the incident is an example of the terrible cost that Palestinians pay for the willingness of their police to allow conflict with Israeli soldiers to deteriorate, even while they can and are required to prevent it. The willingness to allow children and youths to risk their lives in violent confrontations with soldiers is a cynical violation of the sanctity of human life for political ends.

At the other end of the spectrum are the Palestinian and Israeli doctors, soldiers, police, and citizens who have taken risks to save lives, regardless of sides in the conflict. The selfless act of the Jarawish family belongs in this latter category, and in addition should be held up as a powerful example in the campaign to increase organ donations in Israel and the region.

In Israel today, 1,030 men, women, and children are waiting for organs that could save their lives. Most Western countries suffer from a shortage of organ donations, but Israel has a particular problem. About 60 percent of Israeli families, when asked permission to donate organs from a deceased relative, agree to so. This rate is similar to that in other Western countries, but Israel falls short in two areas: numbers of registered potential organ donors and the readiness of doctors to identify candidates for organ donation.

According to the World Health Organization, there should be annually 45 to 50 people per million people who become potential organ donors. In practice, Israel produces only 100 of the 260 expected for a country its size. This figure then drops to about 40 actual donors, mainly because of families who refuse permission to donate organs.

The first task is to increase the number of potential donors through better doctor training and awareness. Many doctors establish death at the time the heart stops beating, rather than at

"brain death," which can occur earlier. While heart rate is routinely monitored, brain activity is not, though it is not difficult to do so. If doctors were required, in relevant cases, to establish death based on the cessation of brain activity, the number of potential organ donors could more than double.

The second task is to encourage more people to register their willingness to donate their organs in case of death. According to Adi, the national association for the advancement of organ donations, affiliated with the Ministry of Health, only 2 percent of Israelis have registered, compared to about 35 percent in the United States. That said, in the past two years the rate of people registering has jumped dramatically from about 350 to 3,000 per month.

Evidently, Adi is doing a good job increasing public awareness on this issue. The Health Ministry, however, has been dragging its feet on regulatory changes that could help in this effort. A poll to be released by Adi at a conference on organ transplantation taking place today shows that a primary reason people do not register for or agree to organ donation is a belief it is contrary to religious law.

In fact, a landmark ruling issued by the Chief Rabbinate 10 years ago found that not only are donations permissible, but the criteria can be brain death, rather than the traditional criterion of cardiac death. This rabbinic recognition of the medically accepted definition of death, after much study of the latest scientific evidence, paved the way for halachically approved heart, lung, and liver transplants — none of which could be performed if death were defined by heart function.

In their ruling, however, the rabbinate made three stipulations in order to adhere to the toughest international standards in establishing death: the lack of brain activity must be technically verified, a doctor trained in both the medical and halachic aspects must participate, and an oversight committee must review all cases after the fact.

These stipulations are not only reasonable, but would go far in assuaging public fears, whether religious or otherwise, of organ donation. Yet in the past 10 years the Health Ministry has not changed its regulations accordingly, largely out of fear of ruffling feathers in the medical community.

It is astounding that doctors — many of whom would rightly be among the first to decry the public's slowness to register for organ donation — are putting matters of convenience and refusal in the way of regulations that would promote organ donations. The calling of saving human life must be paramount for the medical community and for the government officials who regulate it.

Privatize peace

BENNY GAON

The business community has a duty to "privatize peace." In Jordan, Koor — Israel's largest industrial enterprise — has been a partner in a dairy, a retail mall, a mini-hus assembly plant, a hatery manufacturing facility, an agrochemical formulation and distribution plant, and an investment fund with the Jordanian government. The business sector also continues to lobby government to remove outstanding logistical hurdles to commerce.

For example, trucks can now travel between locations in Israel and Jordan door-to-door. This is a tremendous improvement over the previous back-to-back system whereby trucks could travel to the border and no further.

Koor also enjoys long-standing economic cooperation with the Palestinian Authority. We are the

sively — from business considerations. The political dimension of the peace process has often seemed like too much process and not enough peace. However, the commercial impact has been tremendous. Moreover, all countries in the region willing to engage in constructive dialogue can benefit from these developments. Here again, the business sector must lead the way.

Risking capital is easier than risking security. While governments cannot abdicate their responsibility of negotiating territorial agreements, signing treaties and determining foreign policy, there is a logic to delegating much of the bridge-building effort to the corporate sector. Business people can interact with one another more freely and with less media attention than can our public sector colleagues.

Inevitably, this recurrent exposure and familiarity will breed acceptance, understanding and, eventually, commercial cooperation.

Risking capital is easier than risking security. Business people can interact with one another more freely and with less media attention than can our public sector colleagues

major supplier of cement, pipes, steel and other building materials, and are helping the PA establish its telecommunications infrastructure. The next step should be trilateral projects, such as industrial parks, which will include Israeli, Jordanian and Palestinian companies. I expect that similar undertakings will soon be possible in Egypt and, eventually, with our other neighbors in the region as well.

We are often asked by investors and research analysts whether the seemingly low profit potential justifies these endeavors. What does a \$4 billion enterprise like Koor gain from these relatively small investments in new, untested markets? While we focus intensely on our core businesses and screen carefully new ventures around the world, does it make sense to enter non-core businesses with delayed bottom-line contribution in our neighboring countries? In my view, it certainly does.

This is true despite the fact that many of the investments Koor has made in Jordan, it would not have made in the Far East, Latin America or even Europe and the United States. Ask me if I would invest in a retail mall or another business outside of Koor's core competencies in London, Paris, Kuala Lumpur or Hanoi, and the answer is "No." Ask me whether I would undertake such investments in Israel and the answer is similarly "No." However, ask me whether I would participate in such an initiative in Amman, Cairo, Doha, Gaza and eventually, hopefully, Damascus, and my answer is an unqualified "Yes." Moreover, I reach this conclusion largely — though not exclu-

AS a native Jerusalemite forced to celebrate his bar mitzva during the War of Independence, I can tell you that since its inception, Israel has been hungry for peace.

That hunger was fostered during years of starvation. When finally invited to the peace table, we ate heartily. We signed treaties with Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. Recently, business delegations began visiting on a massive scale, seeking technology-sharing arrangements and other joint-venture partnerships.

Fueled by unprecedented optimism, our economy roared ahead. Consumer spending reached new records. Some may argue that the accelerated pace led to a national state of indigestion. I disagree. In my view, the economic benefits of the peace process are irrefutable. The statistics speak for themselves. In the 1990s, Israel's GDP increased by over a third. The number of nations with which we share diplomatic relations nearly doubled. Foreign investment in Israel rose from less than \$400 million in 1992 to \$2.4 billion last year. Israeli enterprises found themselves on corporate radar screens from which they were absent in the past. Israeli products were able to penetrate new markets which had previously been inhospitable or completely closed.

In total, the direct contribution of the peace process to the national economy has been estimated at about 2% a year, or over \$10 billion since the Gulf War. However, these numbers tell only part of the story. The peace process also enabled a redistribution of resources from defense to infrastructure, transportation, telecommunications and education. Therefore, the felicitous impact on our national well-being over the longer term is inestimably greater and it is clear that the benefits of peace are too precious to be squandered.

PRACTICALLY, what is the best way to accelerate the business component of intra-regional

Dry Bones



much more hospitable climate for foreign investment. The first critical step is finding the right partner. That is how the major multinationals first approached Israel. Koor has been the partner of choice for Northern Telecom, Volvo, General Dynamics, Henkel, Sheraton, IBM, Carrier, Alcatel, Apotex and Newbridge Networks.

Similarly, when we looked at Jordan, we chose as our partners Omar Salah and the Century Investment Group. We also teamed up with the Jordanian Social Security to form PDI — a company specifically mandated to identify and pursue industrial opportunities in Jordan, particularly in export-oriented businesses.

In Egypt, Dr. Ibrahim Kamel is our partner of choice. In fact, I met Ibrahim at last year's MENA Conference in Cairo. Dr. Kamel and his colleagues visited Koor earlier this year, and we expect to reciprocate sometime next month.

With the right partner, it becomes much easier to determine how each can best contribute to the proposed commercial enterprise. Obviously, the local partner's knowledge of the local legal and regulatory infrastructure is indispensable. Favorable conditions to attract foreign investors are critical. I think we can all learn a great deal from Egypt's fantastic achievements in this area over the past two years.

Markets need to be reasonably accessible and transparent. Currency convertibility is also important as is the availability of local financing.

Jordan has implemented some very helpful improvements recently. Late in June the central bank lifted all controls on foreign currency transfers and, as of September, limits on foreign ownership of publicly-listed companies in the banking, insurance, telecommunications and transport sectors have been lifted.

Therefore, 100% foreign ownership is now permitted in these industries, although the 50% ceiling remains in place for construction, retailing and mining. In general, these reforms have created a

much more hospitable climate for foreign investment.

The expectation in our region is that the foreign partner will contribute know-how, capital and access to international markets. They will place a premium on political stability as well as market appetite for its products and services. However, I would argue that hurdle rates and overall scrutiny can — and should — be more relaxed than when assessing the immediate commercial potential in more established markets.

I had the privilege of discussing these issues recently with His Majesty King Hussein. His unwavering dedication to peace is well-known. His country has progressed economically, but that progress should be accelerated. In

The economic benefits of the peace process are irrefutable

that spirit, His Majesty generously offered to host representatives of Koor and a team of leading investment bankers in Amman this February. We will analyze how to maximize Jordan's business potential and develop a first-rate infrastructure to encourage its emergence into a flourishing economy.

The Emir of Qatar — the host of the conference — has also been a steadfast promoter of regional progress. The World Economic Forum has spearheaded these annual meetings to allow all of us to get acquainted and start working. All countries in the region should support similar initiatives. There is an abundance of capital seeking investment in this part of the world. We should welcome it and make our investors — and ourselves — much better off.

The writer is Koor's president and CEO. This article is based on a speech Gaon is delivering today at the Fourth Middle East and North Africa Economic Conference in Doha, Qatar.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

... BUT SPELL MY NAME RIGHT?

Sir, — Thanks for the fair report about the meeting of the Gush Shalom delegation with Yasser Arafat. "Arafat plans to declare statehood in 1999." (November 14). Please note, however, that my name is —

URI AVNERI

Tel Aviv.

REAL JEWS

Sir, — At least once a week you publish a letter from a secular person stating that he feels deligitimized and no longer Jewish because he isn't Orthodox. This is a lie. By definition, a Jew is anyone born to a Jewish mother (observant or not) or any convert who pledges to observe three commandments — Shabbat, kashrut and mikvah.

For most of my life, I was not observant. Now that I am, I am not more Jewish. Now was I less Jewish or un-Jewish before I began to observe the commandments.

DR. MIRIAM ADAHAN

Jerusalem.

RELIGIOUS UNIVERSITY

Sir, — A small group of students hold signs at the entrance proclaiming Bar-Ilan to be "the University of Fools." Maybe this statement shouldn't be taken too literally. But it must be admitted: something is basically out of joint with the idea of religious universities. Should one have modern institutions on historical origins? Isn't a university supposed to be a place where one searches for the

truth? Is not anyone aware of a collision of that mission with the idea of dogma?

Is not the "belief" in something, anything, not supported by observable facts identical with dogma? Is not therefore "religious university" a contradiction in terms?

DR. D.I. JACOBS

Tel Aviv.

CHILD CARE

Sir, — Having watched the recent air trial in America, it has made me very aware just how responsible is the position of minding a baby. It does not cease to amaze me why people in this country pay so little for such a service of responsibility. I feel that caring for a child/baby's welfare is certainly worth more than the current rate of NIS 15 an hour; even if the child is

asleep some of the time. How is it possible that a house cleaner earns twice as much and without any similar responsibilities? Surely the price of caring for someone else's child ought to command a higher fee?

SALLY A. SHAW

Kfar Sava.

Sir, — The opinion piece "What Words Mean" by Ruthie Blum (November 12) is one of the most poignantly thoughtful and insightful articles I have ever read.

I'm ready to vote for her for prime minister. Ms. Blum?

RANDY WOHL

Ma'aleh Adumim

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

60 years ago: On November 17, 1937, *The Palestine Post* reported the vigorous condemnation of the recent murder of Arab passersby in Jerusalem, presumably as reprisals for Arab terrorism, which was voiced at a conference of Jewish representatives from all parts of the country.

Three armed Arabs were killed and one captured in the course of the search operation carried by the army in the Upper Galilee hills, near the Syrian frontier.

50 years ago: On November 17, 1947, *The Palestine Post* reported that an empty 50-ton, one-masted motor vessel, jauntily riding the shallow waters, was found by police off the beach of Nahariya. The authorities esti-

mated that she had brought between 150 and 200 "illegal" immigrants. Two Hebrew banners: "Hagana Ship Aliya" and "Shame on Britain for Continuing the White Paper Policy" flew over the vessel.

A 140-ton two-masted vessel, *Kadima* ("Forward") with 794 "illegal" immigrants aboard was brought into the Haifa port by British destroyers. In a fast deportative operation the "illegal" immigrants were transferred to Ruonymede Park ferry service which took them to the detention camps in Cyprus.

The Jewish State would welcome the presence of an international police force during the transitional period, but if that were not forthcoming the Jews

were ready to assume full responsibilities, declared Mr. Moshe Shertok of the Jewish Agency at a meeting of the working group of the Palestine Partition sub-committee at the UN.

25 years ago: On November 17, 1972, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that Egypt had presented Britain with a shopping list of £100 million in arms.

Foreign Minister Abba Eban said that the Gaza Strip would not be separated from Israel although under a peace settlement its port might be shared with Jordan.

West European governments discouraged by failure to align their policies had abandoned their plans for an European peace initiative.

Alexander Zvielli

The anti-social juggernaut

YOSEF GOELL

To judge by comparative international statistics on longevity, infant mortality and the like, Israel must have one of the most effective public health systems in the modern world. We are up there with the Japanese and Scandinavians and way ahead of the Americans and most of the Europeans in these statistics. We seem to surpass all the others in our penchant for both worrying about our health and in complaining about our health system.

It cannot be that we as Jews are genetically predisposed to living longer and healthier lives than others; after all the statistics also point to a gigantic gap in these parameters for Israeli Arabs as compared to their Palestinian brethren only a few kilometers on the unlucky side of the erswiler Green Line; and to even more impressive gaps between Israeli Jewish immigrants from Arab and Moslem societies and their former Third World compatriots.

When one factors in the additional elements of the large component of physically and mentally traumatized Holocaust survivors in the population of early Israel, our periodic wars and their attendant casualties, the constant state of tension under which we live and our habit of killing and maiming each other on the roads, these health statistics become all the more remarkable.

The central factors responsible must be the fact that we do worry about our health sufficiently to have developed a deeply ingrained attitude that health maintenance is a legitimate public concern, and that as a result, organized public health care is a legitimate "civil

right" for all in our society, regardless of income and social status.

In hindsight we can now say that there was no clear medical or health reason for the nationalization of our health services earlier this decade. The health funds had performed a marvelous job. As opposed to the US where over 30 percent of the population is not

The Treasury's determination to cut government spending on health is part of a broader, mindlessly ideological plan of 'privatization at any cost'

trolled Histadrut bureaucracy was a worthwhile political enterprise, but only on condition that the new owner, the government, lived up to its commitment to provide equal or even better and possibly economically more effective health care than the health funds had provided. As long as the Rabin government was in power, it managed to

demonstrate a modicum of loyalty to that commitment. Of late there have been motting signs that the Netanyahu-Neeman government is determined to abandon that commitment. Under the guise of the Arrangements Law, which is appended to the draft budget, the Treasury is proposing to empower the various health funds to play around with the basket of services they are required by law to provide their members. The deliverers of health care would be permitted to whittle away at their basket to below the level called for by law, and transfer some health services to supplementary programs for which patients would be charged additionally. This would effectively put an end to any semblance of equality in the provision of medical care by the "nationalized" system.

PRISING Kupat Holim Clalit and its membership fees out of the hands of a corrupt Labor-con-

There are a myriad of objective reasons to oppose the Treasury's intentions; but there are also two good political reasons for such opposition. The nationalization of health services was legislated by a bipartisan majority of the Knesset after years of public debate which followed the publication of the findings of retired Supreme Court justice Shoshana Netanyahu's state judicial commission on the public health system. The Treasury is now trying to sneak through what amounts to virtual abrogation of the government's commitments in near secret and forced-pace sessions of the Knesset Finance Committee. There is a scary parallel here to Binyamin Netanyahu's own cynical performance in the Likud's debate over the abolition of its internal primary elections, where he himself was the prime pusher of primaries only a few years ago it when it served his purpose.

Secondly, there is every indication that the Treasury's determination to cut government spending on health is part of a broader, mindlessly ideological plan of "privatization at any cost." The slashing of education and other social budgets in the present budget are clearly part of that bigger plan. These developments provide the most persuasive argument in favor of the Knesset's asserting its independence from the anti-social Netanyahu-Neeman juggernaut by enshrining all Israel's rights to health care and education in a Basic Law: Social Rights.

The writer comments on public affairs.

Soft Touch
Sometimes
The writer is Koor's president and CEO. This article is based on a speech Gaon is delivering today at the Fourth Middle East and North Africa Economic Conference in Doha, Qatar.

مکان التوصل



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Soft Touch

Sometimes, the Punishment Fits the Gender

By LAURA MANSNERUS

AFTER a jury convicted Louise Woodward of murdering the 8-month-old boy in her care, much of America, nearly all of Britain and one judge in Cambridge, Mass., reached a consensus about her: the 19-year-old au pair was just a girl.

It is safe to say, after all, that the nation would not have become all that wrapped up in the case of a baby who died at the hands of, say, his mother's boyfriend. There's just something about a woman behind bars that sets people off.

The display of sympathy, crowned last week by the judge's reduction of Ms. Woodward's conviction to manslaughter and her sentence to time served, seemed incongruous given the nation's tough-on-crime attitude. It also raised the question of whether men and women are treated equally by the criminal justice system. The answer seems to be no, with many explanations, depending in part on the political stripe of who is explaining.

Many argue that the system is biased against women as victims when, for example, they are treated more skeptically in cases of rape than are victims of other crimes — or when it affords them inadequate protection against domestic violence. But less is said about what many see as the system's biases toward the female criminal.

A Favorable Bias

"There's a tendency to believe in female innocence," said Cathy Young, a researcher at the Cato Institute and vice president of the conservative Women's Freedom Network, who argues that offenders who are women are treated more leniently than men. "Feminists haven't paid attention when gender bias goes in the other direction."

Many feminists, even those who concede that women are sometimes treated leniently, respond that when women defy their nurturing stereotypes, they are usually made to pay. "It's not as if people are not ready to vilify women, are not ready to consider them cold-hearted and unnatural," said Wendy Kamner, the author of "A Fearful Freedom" (Addison-Wesley, 1990), on women's status in the legal system. "My guess is that historically, women who have been involved in crimes of domestic violence have been treated more harshly than men."

Social science is invoked by both sides. The bare data make clear that women don't get into serious trouble as commonly as men; they make up 8 percent of Federal and 5 percent of state prisoners, according to the Justice Department. Even as criminals, they are much less violent than men; they account for just one of seven arrests for violent crimes.

Beyond that, statistical studies of sentences given to men and women are all over the lot. Many find disparities favoring women, which are generally attributed to the not-quite-dead hand of paternalism in the law.



Young, female and a tabloid sensation: Ruth Steinhagen, who shot a baseball player in 1949, was later confined to a mental hospital.

One widely cited study of Pennsylvania courts, for example, found that men were 11 percent more likely than women to be imprisoned for the same crimes, even after adjusting for the greater number of prior offenses by men. The researchers said judges viewed female defendants "as less 'dangerous,' as less culpable than their male co-defendants and as having more responsibilities and ties to the community."

But some argue that women are sentenced more harshly than men, especially in drug cases, and especially in light of their lower propensity for violence and recidivism. And several analyses have found that women get longer terms than men for child abandonment and assault.

As for the tiny number of violent female criminals, the data cannot tell much; these women are by definition anomalous. For that reason, perhaps, women who kill and main excite a kind of gross popular fascination. Consider Jean Harris (shot her lover), Amy Fisher (shot lover's wife), Lorena Bobbitt (cut off husband's penis) and Susan Smith (drowned sons). TV docu-dramatists seized

On crime, the sexes don't seem to be treated equally.

upon their stories, as well as those of killers like Aileen Wuornos (murdered men while hitchhiking) and Francine Hughes (set husband's bed on fire).

When man and woman are caught up in the same misdeed, the woman is often seen as a helpless retainer. In 1987, Hedda Nussbaum was free-basing cocaine with her husband, Joel Steinberg, in their Greenwich Village apartment while their 6-year-old daughter, Lisa, lay dying from a savage beating he had administered. Despite her obvious neglect, Ms. Nussbaum drew almost unmitigated sympathy. She was represented, interestingly, by Barry Scheck, later Louise Woodward's lawyer, who argued that Ms. Nussbaum's will had been all but destroyed by her own abuse at her husband's hands. All charges against her were dropped so she could testify against Mr. Steinberg.

If Hedda Nussbaum was treated as a good woman — sick, helpless, a prisoner of love — rather than a bad one, that can cut both ways. Anne Coughlin, a University of Virginia law professor, said if women are considered less capable than men of moral free agency, it may help the individual defendant while working to women's detriment "outside the criminal justice system, which is where most of us spend our lives."

Ms. Woodward, it seems, struck an image more pitiful than vicious. She finally appeared to the public and Superior Court

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The economic benefits of the process are irrefutable

Iraq's Top Secret

Intent Is the Ultimate Mystery

By TIM WEINER

AS any good spy will tell you, there are secrets, and then there are mysteries. Secrets can be unveiled. Mysteries are mosaics of secrets, far harder to decipher.

Many of the military secrets of the nations that might threaten peace were laid bare by the end of the cold war. Others have been revealed by U-2 spy planes and American reconnaissance satellites. Those machines are good at detecting secrets like tanks parked in a field or the movement of troops from barracks to battlefronts.

The order of battle of North Korea's million-man army is a secret. But whether that desperately poor nation would attack its richer neighbor to the south is a mystery.

The political hierarchy of Iran's mullahs is a secret. The sway they hold over the Iranian people is a mystery. How Iraq cultivates anthrax and botulism viruses is a secret. Whether it would use them if it felt faced with Armageddon is a mystery.

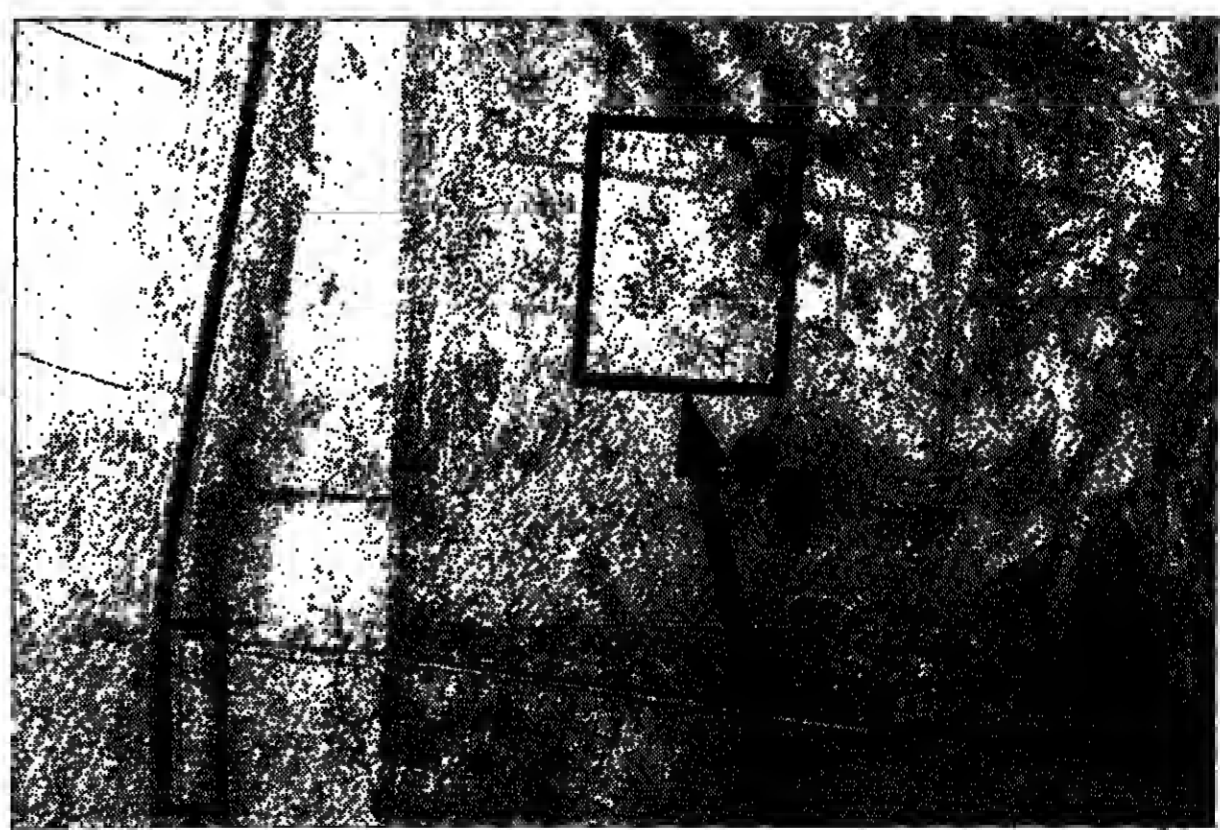
And machines cannot divine mysteries. They cannot know what Saddam Hussein really thinks, or how he might act. For that, a nation needs spies. Only spies can get to the many-chambered heart of these matters. And these particular mysteries remain outside the grasp of the United States because it seems to have no spies worth the name in North Korea, Iran or Iraq.

The Search for Hidden Weapons

Until this week, the United States did have United Nations inspectors, who have braved threats and lies to get to Iraq's secret arsenal. Last month, the inspectors thought they might be on the verge of uncovering a secret so close to President Hussein's heart that he would risk bombs and missiles to keep it — so powerful that it might explain why the Iraqi leader has been lying so long to the inspectors, fighting so hard against them.

Iraq's arsenal is really a secret, one that the weapons investigators of the United Nations Special Commission have been working to uncover, with some success, for more than six years. One part of the arsenal that the investigators have not succeeded in unearthing is Iraq's biological weapons. That remains a very big secret, a buried Rosetta stone.

The potential power of the secret weapons that Saddam Hussein still has hidden away, and precisely how



Aerial cameras can't reveal a nation's intentions. A photo of an Iraqi bunker destroyed during the Gulf war.

he tests them, and what exactly he might do with them, lie deeper still. Nearly seven years after the Persian Gulf war, the Iraqi leader's capabilities and intentions constitute a colossal mystery — as Churchill said of the Soviet Union's war plans in 1939, "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma" — impenetrable by diplomacy or force.

This is why the inspectors so infuriated Mr. Hussein. To him, they were spies, pure and simple, forced on him by the United Nations after the Gulf war, prying through his country's files and opening closed doors to reveal to the United States and the world what he has worked so hard to hide.

The reviled dictator's secrets shield the mystery of his enduring domination over Iraq, and of his will to defy

the United States' global power and the United Nations' disarmament orders.

Without his secrets, he would be nothing but a naked emperor ruling a starving nation. If they fell into the hands of his enemies, and if those enemies collected and assembled them in the proper way, they might reveal the real mystery: what in the world he is trying to achieve with his covert programs to build weapons of mass destruction.

The U.N. inspectors told Iraq last month that they were going after not only the documents and materiel of his weapons programs, but also the mechanisms by which he concealed them. This heightened the possibility

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Too Much of a Good Thing

One more reason to fret about trade.

By Louis Uchitelle



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Enough Already Redoing the Kennedys again.

By John Kifner

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Cold War Hero?

With Warsaw Pact a fading memory, a Polish spy is still remembered for his betrayal.

By Jane Perlez

2

But I Know What I Like Deep in the artist's soul lurks the algorithm.

By George Johnson

4



gernaut

out of a

The World

Global Good Times, Meet the Global Glut

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S failure last week to persuade Congress to give him freedom to negotiate trade deals reflected skepticism among Americans about the benefits of a global economy — not only free trade, but an entire system that allows money, factories and jobs to move anywhere.

Domestic politics, of course, played a big role in the President's decision to retreat when he failed to muster enough votes for passage. But the skepticism is not limited to politicians jockeying for the next election, or union officials charging that jobs are going south. The worriers are often the very business executives and international investors who built today's global economy and now fear that it might backfire.

There is something to worry about. The Asian financial turmoil may be the first stage of a developing worldwide crisis driven mainly by a phenomenon called overcapacity: the tendency of the unfettered global economy to produce more cars, toys, shoes, airplanes, steel, paper, appliances, film, clothing and electronic devices than people will buy at high enough prices.

"There is excess global capacity in almost every industry," Jack Welch, chairman of General Electric, said in a recent

Now, a new word for nervous investors to learn: overcapacity.

interview in The Financial Times of London.

The problem arises because the global economy sucks businesses into building too many factories. Allied Signal, for example, a multinational corporation based in Morrisville, N.J., built a polyester plant in Longjumeau, France, in 1993 and expanded it last year. The polyester, used in nylon carpets and tire cords, is sold in France and shipped across open borders to customers everywhere in the region.

The Danger of Price Wars

But a group in South Korea, an emerging industrial nation seeking to be a big player in many major industries, opened a polyester plant in Korea recently. Taking advantage of open borders, the Koreans are shipping their polyester into Europe and other countries, grabbing away customers and market share by offering lower prices. And the customers, offered more polyester than they need, have encouraged a price war.

Price wars, up to a point, are good for consumers. The inflation rate in the United States has fallen in part because of global overcapacity, and business people everywhere complain that they can't raise prices.

"That is what overcapacity means," said Peter L. Bernstein, an economic consultant.

The danger is that at some point this house of cards must tumble down. In an open-border global economy nearly every car manufacturer, for example, is trying to have a presence in every market. But when all the factories crank out more cars than people can buy, down come car prices. Down go the profits of car companies. Out go the workers. And down go the number of people who can afford to buy cars. Economies can spiral downward toward recession, or worse. That is what is beginning to happen in Asia now.

East Asia has been the main source of the world's overcapacity in recent years. Since 1991, countries like Thailand, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines have accounted for half the growth in world output, primarily manufacturing, according to David Hale, chief global economist for the Zurich Insurance Group.

Dominoes

The financing for this new production often came from international investors moving huge sums across borders. They frequently borrowed the money at low interest rates in Japan and the United States and then invested in booming Asia in expectation of earning a high return. Money borrowed at 1 or 2 percent a year in Japan might typically pay 8 to 10 percent invested in Asia.

Chunks of this money inevitably went not into factories but into speculation. Borrowers defaulted. And as the hoped-for big returns failed to materialize, fear grew, first in Thailand, that money invested in that country's currency, the baht, would not earn enough to pay debts incurred in dollars or yen. There was a run on the baht last summer, which spread to stock prices and to other Asian financial markets.

The factories — the new capacity — remained intact, but the millions of Asians counted on to be customers pulled back. In their place, the energetic consumers in the world's richest country, the United States, have become the targeted buyers for much of the unsold Asian output. And as imports from the region rise (they have risen only slightly so far) there is downward pressure on prices in the United States and on the wages of workers who make products that compete with the imports. Just the threat of an Asian alternative produces this downward pressure, some economists argue.

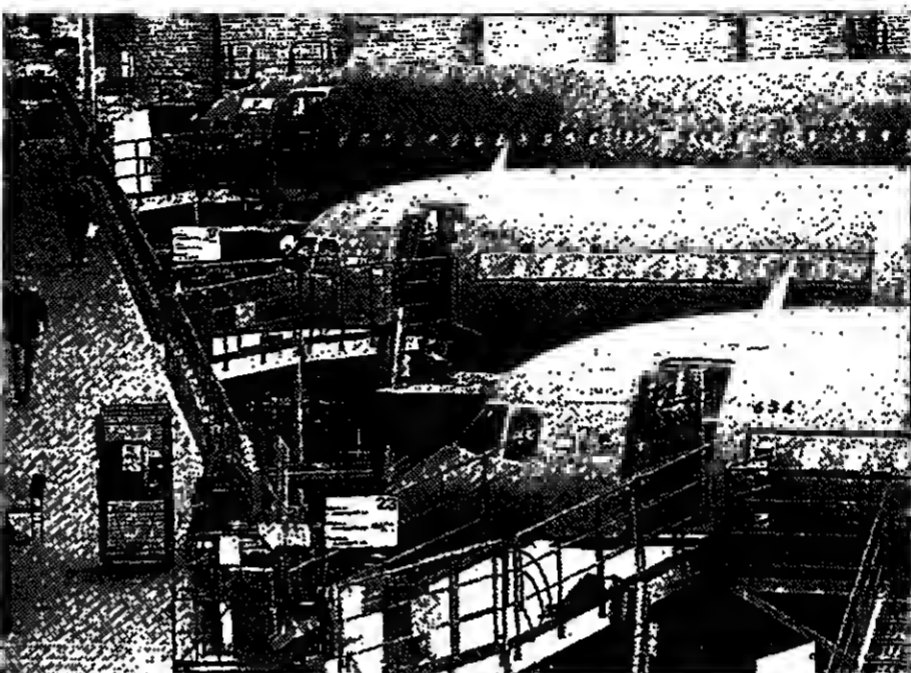
The global economy appears, in effect, to be capable of self-destruction. That is the view of William Greider, a journalist who writes extensively on economics and whose recent book, "One World, Ready or Not" (Simon & Schuster), has made him a principal voice among those who point to the dangers of an unregulated global economy.

"It produces more and more goods even as it suppresses wages at both ends of the world, in industrial as well as developing countries," he said. "You cannot do that forever — producing more and cutting the wages of those who buy — without some collapse."

That view has been attacked by several



Autos, autos, everywhere: Hyundai automobiles from South Korea sitting in a storage yard in Newark, N.J.



Whether it's Airbus jets in Germany or sneakers in the United States, goods have a tendency to pile up in today's global economy.



influential economists, particularly Paul Krugman of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The American economy, he says, is still mostly self-contained; global trade has not made that much of an inroad. What's more, he says, workers will eventually share in the earnings from rising production. And finally, Mr. Krugman maintains, overcapacity is not a question of too much supply, but a faltering of demand.

Mr. Rubin's concern is understandable, given that the United States is the alternative if the Japanese don't buy enough — Americans being the world's consumers of last resort. The United States' trade deficit keeps rising as imports grow, forcing American manufacturers to cut back. Just last week Eastman Kodak announced 10,000 job cuts, in part to accommodate overcapacity in film manufacturing, especially competition from Fuji of Japan.

Pressure on America

South Korea could be the next country in trouble, analysts say, hurting Japan in the process. Some of the huge sums invested in Korea were borrowed from Japanese banks. A loan default in Korea could bring down a Japanese bank already weakened by the recession in that country. And with its own consumers already balking, the fresh blow of a bank default would make Japan even more eager to export its unsold goods — its overcapacity — to the United States. With that in mind, Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin publicly urged the Japanese Government last week to spur domestic consumption.

But the American trade deficit would have to quintuple before the economy gets into trouble, said David Wyss, research director at DRI/McGraw-Hill, an economic forecasting service. "There is the possibility," he said, "that you can bring in so many low-priced imports that businesses in this country would have to cut back and unemployment would rise. But that sure is not happening now."

Iron Curtain Chills

A Cold War Spy Doesn't Dare Go Home

By JANE PERLEZ

COL RYSZARD KUKLINSKI may go down in cold war history as one of the United States' most valuable spies. For nine years he gave the Central Intelligence Agency top-secret documents that detailed the inner workings of the Polish army and the Warsaw Pact, until on a cold November night in 1981 he left his post on the Polish General Staff and was bundled onto a plane to America. The Polish authorities were on his tail, and Poland's Communist Government was about to crush the Solidarity movement with martial law.

But even though the Warsaw Pact is no more, the Communists are out of power and Poland is seeking admission to its former adversary, NATO, Mr. Kuklinski may be a cold war hero without honor, a spy first and last. At a secluded conclave here last week where embittered Soviet Generals, triumphant American policymakers and Polish resistors faced each other for the first time since they tried to outfox each in the early 80's, he was the key missing voice, and he might well have been upset at what was said about him.

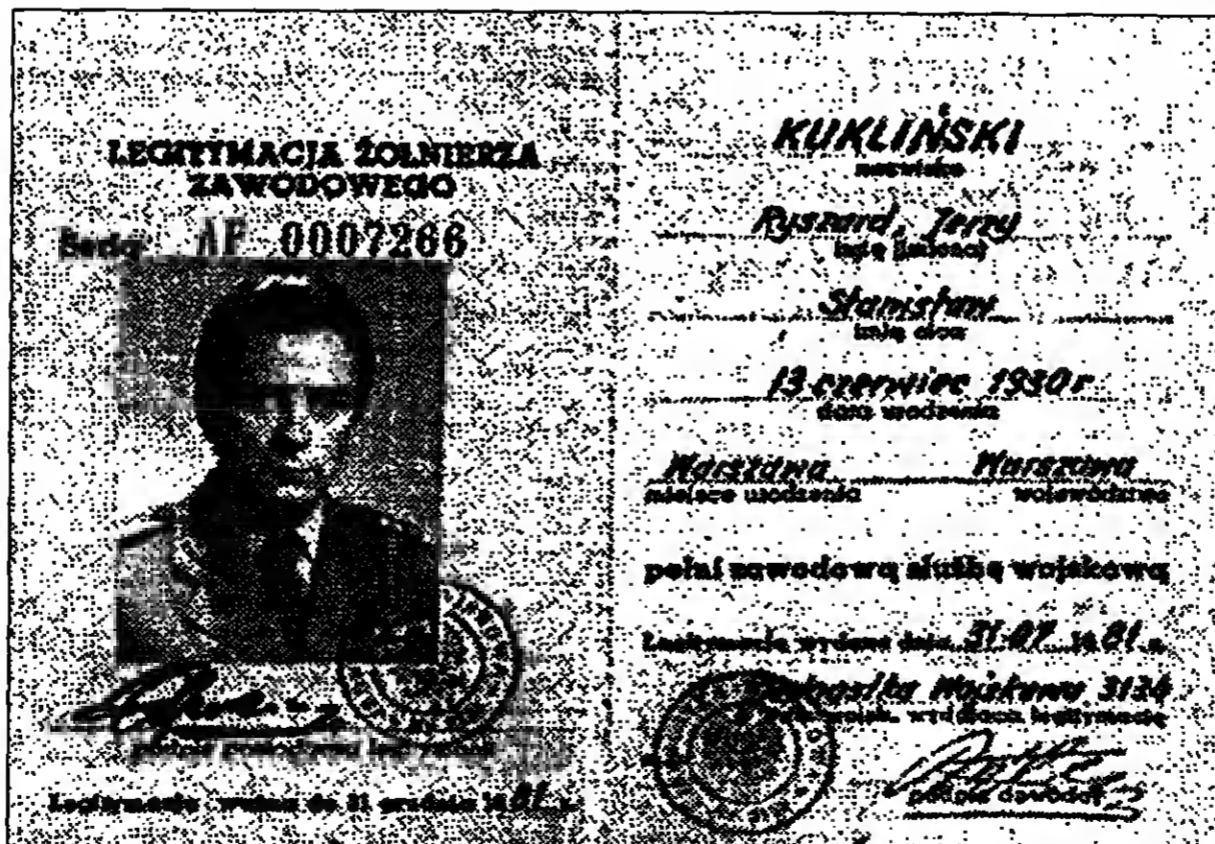
By those he served, his intelligence had been ignored at a key moment; to those he aided in Poland, his treason therefore still seemed futile; to those he betrayed, he remained an enemy.

'This So-Called Patriot'

Mr. Kuklinski, who lives in the United States under an assumed name, was invited to the conference by its organizers, the Cold War International History Project and the National Security Archive, both of Washington. He declined, saying he was nervous about how he would be received, and indeed, Marshal Viktor Kulkov, the former Warsaw Pact head who at age 75 wore his military uniform with Communist-era decorations, belittled the Soviet judgment: "This so-called patriot, who I call a treacherous spy, who gave all our military plans to the enemy."

The Polish resistors, many now among Poland's mainstream politicians, wanted to know why the United States hadn't used Mr. Kuklinski's information in 1981 to warn them of impending martial law. Many resistance leaders were interred unnecessarily, they said.

But Mr. Kuklinski's secrets were so closely held in 1981, Professor Richard Pipes told the conference, that only a handful of people in the Reagan Administration knew about them. Even as the National Security Council's expert on Russian and Eastern European affairs at the time, he said, he was shown only one Kuklinski cable in September 1981. And from then until the imposition of martial law in December, there was a leadership vacuum in the National Security Council.



Poland tried and convicted Col. Ryszard Kuklinski in absentia for spying for the United States.

Further, said Thomas Blanton, executive director of the National Security Archive, the C.I.A. officials who, thanks to Mr. Kuklinski, knew about the approaching martial law, deliberately withheld the information from the Polish opposition. The last thing the C.I.A. wanted, he said, was an uprising that might invite Soviet tanks into Poland, as in Hungary in 1956.

In place of Mr. Kuklinski, the Cold War Project presented the conference three of the spy's cables, the only ones among thousands that the C.I.A. has allowed to be declassified. Perhaps tellingly, they show Mr. Kuklinski in a favorable light, as a concerned Polish patriot.

When the Communists were swept out, the new Solidarity Government reduced the sentence to 25 years but declined to forgive him. And for many Poles, even those stridently anti-Communist, he remains an equivocal figure. After all, they argue, even if he was trying to prevent a Soviet invasion, he gave secrets to an enemy. As recently as two years ago, surveys showed that only 16 percent of Poles favored a full pardon.

A Warning for the Kremlin

The most revealing was from December 1980, when unlike a year later, the information was acted upon. The cable listed the number of Soviet, Czech and East German divisions poised to enter Poland. "Depending on how things develop, all major Polish cities, especially industrial cities, are to be sealed off," the cable said. That information, combined with satellite imagery, prompted the Carter White House to warn the Kremlin to step back.

The cable, signed Jack Strong, barely made it. Mr. Kuklinski, a military planner who describes himself as technologically inept, has told Mr. Blanton he pushed the wrong button on his C.I.A.-provided encryption machine and shorted it, forcing him to find another way to get the message out. He chose a dead drop in Warsaw, but when an American diplomat arrived to pick it up, snow trucks had heaped mounds of snow over the dispatch. The diplomat had to dig it out with a windshield wiper.

Even after Communism collapsed in 1989, Mr. Kuklinski was considered a traitor by many Poles. Astounded by the loss of such valuable information to the enemy, the Polish Communists tried him in absentia in 1984. He was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death.

Even when nations change sides, spies are remembered for their betrayal.

For his part, Mr. Kuklinski has emphasized how he "gave" secrets. He was not actively recruited and was never paid by the United States, he says. Indeed, when he volunteered to tell the Americans what he knew in the early 70's, he was twice turned down, according to a senior American official who knows him.

The spy's salvation has been Poland's hunger for membership in NATO. It made little sense, from Washington's point of view, to have a Polish military officer who had incalculably helped the United States remain a traitor in Poland. In September, after intense diplomatic maneuvering, a Polish Government composed of former Communists finally pardoned Mr. Kuklinski. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the National Security Adviser in the Carter White House and one of the cold war victors here last week, considers Mr. Kuklinski an authentic hero. He is trying to persuade him, he said, to return to Poland next month, to accept an honor being offered by the fathers of the southern city of Cracow.

مركزنا للتحليل

The Nation

Once More, With Feeling: Recycling the Kennedys

By JOHN KIFNER

JUST what is it about the Kennedys, anyway? Why is it that 34 years after a Presidency that lasted — it can't be avoided — only a brief, shining moment, Americans are still fascinated, even obsessed, with the dashing young John F. Kennedy? And not only with him, but with a dynasty that increasingly, perhaps fittingly, seems ready to be spelled out in capitals as the title of a television soap opera?

The question is called to mind not only by the coming anniversary of the Kennedy assassination on Nov. 22, 1963, but also by the attention focused on two very different books just published on the Kennedy Presidency. One, "The Kennedy Tapes" (Belknap/Harvard University), based on the secret tapes of Kennedy's inner councils and edited by Ernest R. May and Philip Zelikow, presents Kennedy coolly steering his way through the Cuban missile crisis. The other, which has provoked a great furor, is Seymour M. Hersh's "Dark Side of Camelot" (Little, Brown), portraying Kennedy as a duplicitous libertine who shunted prostitutes in and out of hotel rooms and the White House and sent one of his bedmates off lugging suitcases of payoff money to a Chicago gangster.

But a Great President?

They are not isolated tomes. The Kennedy Library lists some 500 books written about Kennedy and his family and another 500 on the assassination. The fascination seems endless, extending to peccadilloes generations later, if not earlier. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis's belongings, informally valued at under \$6 million, brought \$34.5 million at auction. The noir novelist James ("L.A. Confidential") Ellroy's breakthrough to the mainstream was "American Tabloid" (Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), in which a J.F.K. was embroiled with gangsters, the C.I.A. and assorted females.

Few can be found who have discovered an idea in the alleged political magazine George, the brainchild of John F. Kennedy Jr., but it threw the party at both the Republican and Democratic conventions and the whole world knew when its publisher took off his shirt.

The periodic Gallup poll of whom Americans consider their greatest President found Kennedy way ahead of all others in 1975 with 52 percent. After a period of debunking, he still led in 1985 with 24 percent. By 1991, Abraham Lincoln managed to edge him out, 40 percent to 39 percent, but his percentage had actually increased in the meantime.

"There's a tremendous difference in how Kennedy is viewed by historians and the public," said Michael R. Beschloss, who like many students of the Presidency believes that little was actually accomplished during Kennedy's abbreviated term. "It should make historians modest."

Asked why the Kennedy name so resonates to this day, the authors of the two very dissimilar books gave strikingly similar answers.

"It is certainly in part just the style," said Mr. May, the Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard, from which Kennedy drew both advisers and arrogance. "It was very appealing, it remains appealing.

Even people who don't respond to the words — the cold war rhetoric — still respond to the cool manner, the elegance of it."

Mr. Hersh, the irascible investigative reporter, was characteristically blunt: "In a simple phrase, it's the power of beauty. Jack Kennedy was beautiful. He is remembered for his beauty. We yearn for something so beautiful."

The 1960's were the dawning of the Age not of Aquarius, but of Celebrity. Norman Mailer hit on it early, calling the 1960 candidate "a great box office actor" in a strangely prescient Esquire article. Kennedy and television came to power simultaneously and symbiotically: the sweaty, jowly, five-o'clock-shadowed Richard Nixon was pulverized. Television, too, drew the entire country together at the spectacle of Kennedy's death.

In between, a captivated (indeed, some might say, captive) press corps pitched in to enthusiastically limn the mythology: gloss and class; Pablo Casals in the White House; an intellectual, speed-reading President devouring entire government reports in a single glance; no more stodgy Eisenhowers. In retrospect, it is perhaps not so surprising that the President's actual favorite reading for relaxation was the Ian Fleming spy thrillers about James Bond, the debonair, womanizing, rule-breaking cold warrior.

"He was a celebrity," said Allen J. Matusow, the author of "The Unraveling of America" (Harper & Row, 1984), a history of the crisis and failure of American liberalism under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. "He was rich, he was handsome, he was show business, he was a television President. It seemed the fulfillment of the possibility of youth."

In truth it was a critical and exciting juncture in American history. The much-maligned Eisenhower 50's had actually brought the nation to what the founding statement of the radical Students for a Democratic Society would describe as "unparalleled wealth" and boundless opportunity. The cold war was at full tilt, the civil rights movement was in optimistic infancy, America was ready to save the world — the bitter schisms of Vietnam and of urban riots were still ahead.

"Especially in the 1990's, Presidents and our politics seem emptier, less consequential than 30 years ago," said Mr. Beschloss, whose current book, "Taking Charge" (Simon & Schuster), concerns the Johnson White House tapes. "Then we were dealing with the cold war, whether there would be a nuclear war, whether African-Americans would get civil rights. These were great questions for America. Now it's about fast track."

Hungry for Myths

Crucial to the lingering myth is the assassination. "If there was ever a subject in American politics that would be worthy of Shakespeare, this is it," Mr. Matusow said.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the distinguished historian and keeper of the Kennedy flame, said, "What might have been a brilliant career was cut off in midstream. There is always the question of what might have been."

That unanswered question, said the publisher of The Nation, Victor Navasky, whose "Kennedy Justice" (Scribner, 1971) was an early criticism of the Administration, "means the myth is more about us than it is about them."



Punishment Can Fit The Gender

Continued From Page 1

Judge Hiller Zobel, if not to the jury, as a woefully inexperienced, frustrated teen-ager. "There's nothing like a young, white English woman with a weight problem who enjoys the musical 'Rent,'" said Abbe Smith, acting director of the criminal justice clinic at Georgetown University Law Center. "A lot of us can identify with her. She looks a little like a chunky Patty Duke."

If some women get more lenient treatment, Ms. Kammer said, "I think it's simply that women are less scary than men, and to the extent that fear is an element of punishment, it works in their favor."

Some advantages that female offenders once enjoyed were reduced (if not intentionally) by reforms in sentencing rules during the 1980's, which were adopted mostly to eliminate racial biases. At the same time, though, a broad concept of self-defense for battered women gained recognition. And new "rape shield" laws led to assertions that male defendants' rights had been compromised.

Death Penalty for Poisoned Beer

Such feminist-inspired innovations coexist today with lingering paternalism. Ms. Nussbaum's release from responsibility recalls English common law, which made women pretty much instruments of their husbands' schemes in criminal law.

And to this day, Americans are reluctant to put women to death. With one exception in 1984, middle-aged Velma Barfield of North Carolina (poisoned fiancé's beer), none has been executed since the Supreme Court permitted states to reinstate capital punishment in 1976. This reluctance is not just an American predilection. George P. Fletcher of Columbia University Law School, a specialist in comparative criminal law, noted that the Russian criminal code, which authorizes the death penalty for certain crimes, exempts women. "When I argue with Russians that this rule discriminates on the basis of sex, the Russians smile politely," Mr. Fletcher said. "The only explanation is a curious sort of chivalry."

Chivalry might have influenced the dispositions of several American Bonnie-and-Clyde situations over the years. One case argued literally to the death was that of Jesse Tafero and Sonia Jacobs, both convicted of murdering two police officers in Florida in 1976; the evidence was inconclusive as to who fired on the officers. Ms. Jacobs's jury recommended life imprisonment, and after the trial judge imposed the death penalty, the Florida Supreme Court overturned it. Mr. Tafero's jury recommended death. He was executed in 1990. She was set free.

Still, paternalism, alive as it was in the 1950's, didn't do much for Ethel Rosenberg. She and her husband, Julius, were executed on the same day, and Julius went first, to spare him the sight of his wife being led to the execution chamber. Ethel, the prison authorities had decided, was tougher.

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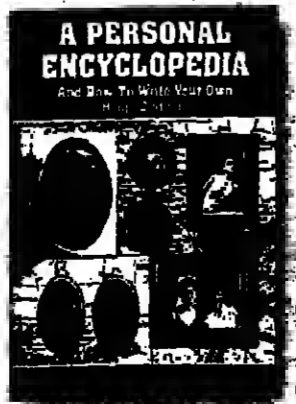
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Ideas & Trends

The Artist's Angst Is All in Your Head

By GEORGE JOHNSON

ONE of the most powerful ideas of modern science — right up there with Darwinian evolution and the magnificent theories of relativity and quantum mechanics — is a comparatively obscure dictum called the Church-Turing hypothesis. Laid out in the 1930's by the great mathematicians Alonzo Church and Alan Turing, this principle, which lies at the very core of computer science, holds that any procedure whatsoever can be carried out by a machine.

It doesn't matter if you are talking about addition and subtraction, playing games, painting a picture, or even composing a symphony. If the task can be broken down into a finite number of simple steps — an algorithm — a computer can do it.

Very early on, people found that machines, first using brass gears and then electronic switches, could calculate. This wasn't so surprising. Calculus means stone in Latin. People probably did arithmetic with rocks before learning to quietly do it in their heads. Games like tic tac toe and checkers fell very quickly to automation and finally, this year, a computer became world chess champion.

Last weekend at Stanford University, another blow was struck for Church-Turing when musicians performed classical music written by a computer program called EMI (pronounced Emmy), or Experiments in Musical Intelligence. Designed by David Cope, a music professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz, EMI scans the works of great composers like Bach and Mozart, gleams some of their stylistic quirks, and then churns out some pretty good imitations.

To the computer, it's all just pattern-matching.

Composing 101

In other experiments, Dr. Cope feeds the program the works of several different composers — a concoction of influences that drives EMI to generate music in its own syncretistic style. The implication is that human composers are doing the same thing. Using biochemical algorithms in their brains, they collect scraps of melodies, harmonies and rhythms, then recombine them

into a distinctive personal sound.

Confronted with programs like EMI, the creative process seems a little less mysterious, and one wonders where the magic ingredient called inspiration fits in. At the University of California's San Diego campus, Harold Cohen, director of the Center for Research in Computing and the Arts, has been working for years on a program called Aaron that produces original drawings.

Early versions of the software included little more than a collection of rules describing what might be called artistic syntax — reasonable ways to put marks on paper. Aaron was given algorithms for drawing lines, curves and rough shapes and combining them into abstract pictures, each unique and yet somehow Aaronesque.

Later Aaron was also given a rudimentary sense of semantics — rules for how to draw meaningful images like human figures, plants and rocks and how to arrange them on a page: you can put people on rocks but not

This Chopin was composed by a computer program. It's very moving just the same.

rocks on people. More recently, Aaron has been told about faces and clothes and finally color, graduating from drawing to painting.

People react to the best of EMI's music and Aaron's pictures the way they do to human creations. When Dr. Cope plays artificial Chopin to naive listeners, they respond emotionally to what they assume is a sentient being musically reaching out to them. When Professor Cohen displays Aaron's early abstractions (produced before installation of the semantics module), viewers interpret the various shapes as clouds and rocks and speculate on what the artist is trying to say.

It's hard to know what to make of these reactions. People also see images of Jesus in burnt tortillas and attribute feelings to their cars. If one believes that art involves the



Photograph by Becky Cohen

The artist is Aaron, a computer program that draws. Aaron, recently told how to make human images, is working on color now.

intentional encoding of emotional messages into musical notes and brush strokes, then computers won't be creative until they can draw on an inner world of compulsions and beliefs, and simulated emotions that push them to cry out in picture or song.

But Aaron and EMI suggest another possibility: that artistic intent is not so important after all, that there is only the loosest connection between what is going on in an artist's head and the marks that ultimately appear on the canvas or the musical staves. If so, then the meaning of art is largely in the eyes and the ears of the beholder.

With representational art, a certain amount of information obviously crosses the divide between sender and receiver. In his haunting painting "Christina's World," Andrew Wyeth clearly intended to show a young woman in a long dress, lying in an empty field, looking uphill at a distant farm.

But what is the source of the mystery and foreboding that people looking at the painting

experience? Who has posed the questions that simultaneously pop into the viewer's mind? Why is the woman alone in the pasture, what is she thinking, what is happening in the farmhouse, whom or what might she be hiding from?

All in the Arrangement

The techniques for painting a realistic human figure, a wheat field or a dilapidated wooden building might be algorithmic. Surely, though, Mr. Wyeth was drawing on his own humanity when he arranged his images to invoke these charged, ambiguous feelings.

But what then to make of Aaron? Though certainly no Andrew Wyeth, it can also produce paintings that are evocative and even ominous. A group of Aaron's people gathered in a forest seems like a frozen instant. One immediately wonders what the characters are saying, how they got into their current positions, what events are

about to unfold.

But if all those "messages" are generated, as they must be, entirely on the receiving end, then how much communication is really taking place between human artists and their public?

One thing for certain is that the beauty of EMI's music and Aaron's pictures is completely lost on their automated creators. Producing good art turns out to be vastly easier than appreciating it — another of the surprises brought by artificial intelligence. The programs are a celebration of the creativity of the audience, and the ability of the human mind to squeeze out meaning even when none is there.

The Church-Turing thesis suggests that all the workings of the brain, even those that give rise to music appreciation, can be captured as computer code. If the day comes when someone produces an artificial audience, the line between real and simulated intelligence will not only blur but disappear.

Dig They Must

Finding Paydirt on This Rock

By SERGE SCHEMANN

JERUSALEM
THE caretaker of a parking lot on the Hebron Road needed water to wash his trucks, so he ran an underground pipe through an adjacent olive grove to the nearest tap. That soon brought the Israel Antiquities Authority. In an area where you can't poke into the ground without disturbing some shard of ages past, no digging can be done without a preliminary check by the agency.

Two yards down, archeologists came upon fine Byzantine mosaic floors. The dig uncovered the shape of an octagonal church centered on a large, flat rock. Last week, two months after they began, the archeologists grandly announced they had discovered the site of the church at the Kathisma, Greek for "seat," the stone early Christians had venerated because of the tradition that the Virgin Mary rested there on her way to Bethlehem to give birth to Jesus Christ.

The Kathisma became a way station for pilgrims taking the Hebron Road to Bethlehem. In the 5th

In the Holy Land, science, religion and politics converge this time to help the past triumph over the present.

century, a devout and wealthy Greek woman named Ikella donated funds for a church on the spot, and a monastery arose nearby. The floors found last month included a well-preserved rendering of a palm tree in rich yellows and greens, which are unusual colors for the period, according to Rina Avner and Yuval Baruch, the archeologists who led the excavation. The octagonal shape itself was uncommon for the Holy Land, prompting the experts to speculate that it might have served as the inspiration for the Dome of the Rock, the magnificent octagonal shrine raised by the Umayyad caliphs over the rock from which the Prophet Muhammad dreamed of ascending to heaven. By the 12th century pilgrims reported that the church was gone.

A Problem of Funds

So after identifying the Kathisma, the archeologists prepared to rebury it. The problem was not ideology or religious sensitivity or lack of interest. On the contrary, Ms. Avner spoke with excitement about how she suspected that the site was the Kathisma in 1993 while researching a corner of it in advance of the widening of the Hebron Road.

The problem was simply money.

In a land where civilizations and religions have thrived and struggled for four millennia, the earth is so richly layered in artifacts, buildings and bones that archeology often seems less a science than a frantic race against road-building and construction (the Kath-



A cleric stands by the rock early Christians believed the Virgin Mary rested on while going to Bethlehem.

isma site was being considered for a service station).

"About 90 percent of all excavations in Israel are not research oriented," said Raphael Greenberg, an archeologist with the Antiquities Authority. "They're salvage operations." Israeli law requires anyone doing any excavation to coordinate it with the Antiquities Authority, and if anything ancient turns up, the work is supposed to stop until archeologists investigate. But there is little Government money for extensive digs; most comes from universities or foundations.

Contractors, who resent the stoppages, press for work to resume as soon as possible. Ultra-Orthodox Jews, who consider any disturbance of Jewish bones to be a violation of Jewish law, are another constant obstacle. They battle fiercely — sometimes violently — if they suspect anyone is digging up a burial site. When archeologists mistakenly believed that they had found a burial site of the ancient Hasmoneans in November 1995, thousands of ultra-Orthodox Jews staged a demonstration in which they put a ritual curse on the Minister of Education, who oversees archeology, that his hand might wither if he carried on.

Even with all these obstacles, Mr. Greenberg said, there are between 200 and 300 excavations every year, "more than anyone can really digest."

The Kathisma church is fortunate. There are no Jewish bones for the ultra-Orthodox to defend, no contractors losing money. There is also full support from the landowner, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the descendant of the ancient Byzantine church and owner of the nearby St. Elias Monastery and its olive groves.

Metropolitan Timothy of the Greek Patriarchate proudly noted that the discovery confirmed the ancient tradition of the church: the Patriarch always stops to rest at St. Elias on his annual Christmas visit to Bethlehem. "This excavation supports our tradition and our presence here, and how faithfully we have kept them," he said.

None of that would have saved the Kathisma from reburying had money not been found. The Minister of Tourism, Moshe Katsav, was persuaded that with the approach of 2000, the year in which millions of pilgrims and tourists are expected in the Holy Land, the Kathisma could provide a powerful added attraction.

Thus it came to pass in a time of great strife in the Holy Land that the past arose from the ashes of time and brought together the forces of science, religion and government to chalk up a fleeting victory against the present. Only the old gnarled olive trees would have to go — and the trucks would remain unwashed.

The Ultimate Mystery Is Iraq's Intent

Continued From Page 1

that they would demystify him and undo his power.

The mystery may lie hidden in the extraordinarily meticulous records of the nuclear, biological and chemical weapons programs that Iraq has conducted since the 1980's. Some of those programs are already known.

"The really odd thing is that Iraq gave up its secrets about its nuclear weapons programs, its missiles, its chemical weapons relatively easily," compared with the biological weapons programs, said Raymond A. Zilinskas, a biotechnology expert at the University of Maryland who served as a United Nations inspector in 1994.

What are the secrets in the records? What mysteries would they reveal? "That's the question everybody has," Mr. Zilinskas said. "The biggest mystery is what he intends to do. What was the intent of each of the warheads that they were going to put on their missiles? What action were they prepared to use them against? And to what purpose? They are still not telling us."

If the United Nations and the United States knew the answers, they would understand what they are up against as they contemplate military action against Iraq. They would have an idea whether Mr. Hussein, who threatened to use chemical weapons during the Gulf war, is militarily and morally capable of unleashing germs and viruses against the world.

Almost Unthinkable

In the long and awful history of 20th-century warfare, biological weapons have always held a special horror, stronger than that of chemical weapons, perhaps as strong as the power of nuclear weapons. Germ warfare has been used in battle exactly once — by the Japanese, whose planes sowed hubonic plague in southeastern China during World War II.

The British learned of the Japanese biological warfare program and started their own, using anthrax to infect thousands of sheep on an island off the coast of Scotland. The island is still contaminated nearly 60 years later. The United States picked up on the British effort, conducting 25 years of research until abandoning the program and finally destroying its stockpiles in 1972. In 1979, an outbreak of anthrax in the former Soviet Union resulted from an explosion at a biological warfare plant.

The Iraqi program went into full swing in the mid-80's. It used raw materials imported from nations including the United States and Germany. And, like its predecessors, it flew in the face of a primitive human instinct. "Going back to 500 B.C., there are admonitions in the Hindu religion and in Egyptian and Greek societies that it was particularly vile to use poisons in war," said Dr. Leonard A. Cole, an expert in biological and chemical weapons policy at Rutgers University. "It has always been seen as unchristian to poison people in battle."

That may explain why no nation and no terrorist group has ever freely admitted making biological weapons for use in warfare, though they are relatively easy to make and easy to use. There is a universal taboo against poisoning wells. And that may go some way to explaining why Iraq's biological weapons are the deepest secret in Saddam Hussein's files, and why he has risked the threat of war to protect them.

ECONOMY

A Tale of Secret Tapes at Archer Daniels Midland

By KURT EICHENWALD

THE executives from four competing companies found their seats in a room at the Palace Hotel in Tokyo and plotted the details of the crime.

For the next four hours, in the matter-of-fact give-and-take of a routine business discussion, they divided up the world into four regions and mapped out their long-debated plan to fix international prices of a feed additive known as lysine.

For the scheme to work, the men agreed, they needed to enforce their secret agreement to limit annual production of the nutrient. That would keep prices high, because their companies — the Ajinomoto Company and the Kyowa Hakko Kogyo Company of Japan, the Sewon Company of South Korea, and the Archer Daniels Midland Company of the United States — manufactured most of the world's lysine.

Terrance S. Wilson, an executive with Archer Daniels, suggested that each company call in its monthly sales figures to Ajinomoto, which would then tabulate the figures and report back.

Unknown to the others, one participant, Mark E. Whitacre of Archer Daniels, was working as an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And a tape recorder he was

carrying captured every word of the Dec. 8, 1993, meeting.

It has been more than two years since the price-fixing conspiracy exploded into public view. Since then, prosecutors have obtained guilty pleas from eight corporations and six individuals. Archer Daniels, the politically powerful grain giant, agreed to a record antitrust penalty — a \$100 million fine for fixing prices of both lysine and citric acid, a food additive. Mr. Wilson, whose lawyer declined comment, is one of four executives indicted and has pleaded not guilty.

But the case has also taken several bizarre turns, most of them revolving around Mr. Whitacre. In the strangest episode, he and several of his Archer-Daniels associates illegally obtained millions of dollars, laundering the money through a series of foreign bank accounts. Mr. Whitacre, who pleaded guilty to dozens of charges last month, took most of the money even as he was working with the F.B.I.

Still, some tantalizing questions about the case remain unanswered. How did the investigation begin? How widespread was the knowledge of wrongdoing? How could such a broad conspiracy stay secret for several years?

Some answers are finally emerging. Documents from court, corporate and Government files — many of which are not publicly available —

provide an unprecedented look inside the largest price-fixing cartel ever brought down by law enforcement. But they also portray an inquiry saddled with troubles from the start, one that began almost by accident.

These details will soon be center stage again as the first case from the investigation goes to trial. Mr. Wilson and Michael D. Andreas, the former vice chairman and once the heir apparent of Archer Daniels, face charges of participating in the scheme. Joining them in the docket will be Mr. Whitacre, whose immunity on price fixing was waived after his financial crimes were revealed.

Among the records' revelations are these:

Discussions at Archer Daniels about the lysine meetings involved more executives than the Government charges suggest, with some tapes indicating that even the company's president, James R. Randall, now retired, was told of them. Mr. Randall was not charged with wrongdoing, and his lawyer said the executive had no knowledge that anything improper occurred at the meetings.

Archer Daniels helped form trade associations to create a cover for its secret price-fixing meetings with competitors. The conspirators also used outside auditors to monitor portions of the scheme.

The F.B.I. originally came to Archer Daniels because of a lie told by Mr. Whitacre about an imaginary extortion plot against the company. Mr. Whitacre failed two polygraph tests asking about the supposed plot. And Mr. Whitacre was such a volatile witness early in the investigation that he actually informed one of the other companies in the price fixing that the F.B.I. had asked him to record conversations.

One of the most striking aspects of the whole sorry story was the matter-of-fact nature of its day-to-day planning. Here was the stuff of high drama, worthy of a Tom Clancy thriller: executives of multinational corporations holding secret meetings around the world, carving up a global market for their gain at the expense of customers.

Yet the executives haggled over their illegal production quotas as if they were negotiating a run-of-the-mill joint venture.

In the end, it took Mr. Whitacre, a man later found to suffer from manic depression, to expose the scheme. And that raises a disturbing, all but unanswerable, question: Was the conspiracy an isolated incident in the corporate world? Or was the only unusual part of this conspiracy that it was found out?

In Search of a Saboteur

Dwayne O. Andreas, Archer Daniels's chairman, could scarcely believe what he was hearing. Someone was sabotaging his company and trying to extort money from it. That, at least, was what Mr. Whitacre said.

It was the summer of 1992, and the lysine business run by Mr. Whitacre at Archer Daniels was struggling. Inexplicably, efforts to feed huge vats of dextrose to microbes, the crucial step in lysine production, had shown poor results for months.

Sabotage would certainly explain the foul-up, Mr. Whitacre said that a Mr. Fujiwara of Ajinomoto had called him to say that the Japanese company had placed a mole inside Archer Daniels who was contaminating the dextrose vats.

According to Government investigative notes, Mr. Whitacre reported that Mr. Fujiwara wanted several million dollars wired to his Swiss bank account in exchange for identifying the mole and for providing Archer Daniels with the proprietary microbes used by Ajinomoto.

But there was a problem with the shocking tale: It was a complete fabrication. Mr. Whitacre had never taken the call, and had never received any such extortion demands.

But Dwayne Andreas believed the story. In August 1992, Mr. Andreas reached out to an associate who got in touch with the Central Intelligence Agency in London, which decided the case was a matter for the F.B.I.

The investigation fell to Brian Shepard, an F.B.I. agent in Archer Daniels's hometown of Decatur, Ill., who began his inquiry in November.



Mark E. Whitacre

Records show that Mr. Whitacre repeated the sabotage allegations to Mr. Shepard. Wiretaps were placed on Mr. Whitacre's home telephone to catch the purported extortionist.

But Mr. Whitacre soon dropped another bombshell on Mr. Shepard: Archer Daniels, he contended, was fixing prices.

To prove his allegation, on Nov. 9, Mr. Whitacre made his first recording using Government equipment, taping telephone conversations with competitors that confirmed the conspiracy's existence.

Yet as the drama mounted, Mr. Whitacre was growing agitated. At about 9:10 on the night of Nov. 16, he called Mr. Shepard at his home, according to investigative notes. He complained that the F.B.I. was destroying him and was trying to hurt Michael Andreas and "other innocent people." He added that he wanted nothing more to do with the F.B.I.

Two days later, according to Mr. Shepard from a motel in Phoenix. He said that his superiors were turning against him and that he was severely depressed and considering suicide.

He complained that he "could not figure a way to win in this situation."

Mr. Whitacre was so uncertain about cooperating that he tipped off Ajinomoto that he had been approached by law-enforcement officials. In December, he told Kanji Mimoto, an Ajinomoto executive, that the Government wanted to record his calls to investigate possible price fixing in the carbon dioxide market. He told Mr. Mimoto not to phone him at home anymore.

By Dec. 17, Mr. Whitacre was expressing concerns that he might be prosecuted, and he told the F.B.I. that he wanted to strike a deal.

But before one could be reached, Mr. Shepard pressed for more details about the sabotage story. Finally, Mr. Whitacre submitted to a lie detector test — and failed. On Dec. 22, he confessed that he had made up the story, saying he had lied to cover up an effort by Archer Daniels to bribe Ajinomoto officials for their company's technology. But, again, the lie detector indicated that Mr. Whitacre was being deceptive.

Today, lawyers for Mr. Wilson and Michael Andreas argue that the Government must have realized at the time that Mr. Whitacre's lie was part of an effort to illegally take millions from Archer Daniels. In essence, they are contending that the informant in the case was so out of control that all of the evidence is tainted.

Indeed, months before the F.B.I. began its inquiry, Mr. Whitacre and some associates had opened bank accounts in Switzerland and the Cayman Islands. Using a system involving false invoices and dummy corporations, Mr. Whitacre had arranged to take \$2.5 million from the company — an amount that would grow to more than \$9 million before his informant days were over.

In addition, according to notes of F.B.I. interviews with Mr. Whitacre, he had also begun obtaining kickbacks from vendors, once involving an envelope stuffed with \$100 bills. Mr. Whitacre would later say the frauds were authorized by his bosses, but prosecutors concluded that was not true.

Mr. Whitacre did not return a telephone call, and Bill Walker, a lawyer for him, declined to comment.

Government lawyers dispute that the sabotage story should have tipped them off to broader problems

with Mr. Whitacre.

The deceptions left Mr. Shepard uneasy, and he sought out advice on dealing with Mr. Whitacre. He contacted the F.B.I.'s behavioral science unit, the profiling group that has been featured in movies like "The Silence of the Lambs."

What advice he received is not clear. But Mr. Whitacre's cooperation agreement was written on Dec. 29, 1992, and signed 11 days later. In his own addendum, Mr. Whitacre agreed to take a polygraph at any time. The anxieties he had about cooperating seemed to disappear.

At home one day near year-end, Mr. Whitacre called his recently hired gardener, Rusty Williams, over to his car. He pulled out his briefcase and placed it on the trunk. Opening it, he showed Mr. Williams the secret compartment in the Government-supplied case, and the microcassette recorder hidden inside.

Speaking excitedly, Mr. Whitacre referred to himself as "014." He chose the name, he told his gardener, because he was twice as smart as 007.

Three months later, on the morning of March 17, Mr. Whitacre sat in his car in the company parking lot and turned on the recorder hidden in his briefcase. He expected to meet immediately with other top company executives, and wanted the tapes rolling before he walked in.

Mr. Whitacre had good reason to tape this meeting. He was going to tell his bosses that Ajinomoto was accusing Archer Daniels of backing out on commitments to limit production if lysine prices fell.

Within minutes of Mr. Whitacre's arrival in the office, Mr. Wilson walked in and asked for an update. As Mr. Whitacre began briefing him, Mr. Randall joined the conversation. According to a transcript, Mr. Whitacre said he had received a voice-mail message from an executive at Ajinomoto and had gone to a pay phone to return the call.

"Your, your, uh, tap's off your phone you know," Mr. Randall replied, alluding to the wiretap that had been placed on Mr. Whitacre's home phone months before, in the extortion inquiry. "The F.B.I. is out of it, and they took the tap off the phone."

Mr. Whitacre said, "I still think the pay phone is the way anyway."

For the next few minutes, Mr. Whitacre described how the Ajinomoto executive had expressed anger that Archer Daniels had not limited its monthly production to nine million pounds a month, as the Japanese executives believed the company had promised to do if prices stayed low. Mr. Whitacre said Archer Daniels had only agreed to speak with its managers if prices did not go up.

"What did he threaten to do?" Mr. Randall asked. "He said there'd never be peace," Mr. Whitacre replied, "and the price would stay where it is."

Mr. Randall, who retired earlier this year, was not charged in the price-fixing scheme. But experts said that such a conversation should have raised alarms.

"A senior executive should find troubling any discussion about future conduct or pricing of a competitor," said Kevin Arquit, a former official with the Federal Trade Commission who now works with Rogers & Wells.

Reaching Peace, on Camera

Early on, Mr. Wilson bluntly dismissed the Japanese complaints. But later, the documents show, Archer Daniels strove for a better relationship with Ajinomoto, its largest competitor.

According to Government records, peace was reached between Archer Daniels and Ajinomoto on Oct. 25, 1993. On that day, Mr. Whitacre and Michael Andreas met with two executives from Ajinomoto at the Marriott Hotel in Irvine, Calif. Government cameras hidden in the room's table lamps recorded the meeting.

The meeting was crucial to the Government's case against Mr. Andreas. The investigation often went months without the Archer Daniels vice chairman being taped, and at least once he made statements on tape about how the company had to watch the laws carefully. John Bray, Mr. Andreas's lawyer, did not return phone calls.

But over the course of this meeting, according to Government records, Mr. Andreas and the Japanese executives agreed to use 1993 sales volumes to calculate lysine production for the following years. Such a constraint would tend to put upward pressure on prices.

Mr. Andreas suggested that the industry's growth rate be limited to 6 percent, or 14,000 tons of lysine. The executives haggled over how much to allocate each of their companies.

"What would we be willing to accept out of that 14,000 tons and what would you be willing to accept, isn't that the question?" Mr. Andreas asked his competitors.

The meeting ended in agreement. At Mr. Andreas's request, the Ajinomoto executives said they would get the other lysine producers to accept the allocation plan.

After more than a year of effort, the scheme was taking off.

How Distrust Dissolved

In the months after the Irvine meeting, the conspirators worked to iron out their deal's details. Often, that proved simple: Archer Daniels had already told the lysine producers about strategies it used to fix prices for citric acid and suggested that the lysine producers do the same.

At an earlier meeting in Japan, Mr. Wilson had said that his company relied on a trade association to help with the citric acid plan. Every month, he said, Archer Daniels reported its sales to the association. And every year, he said, Swiss accountants audited the numbers at the company's offices in London and Decatur.

After Irvine, Mr. Wilson pushed again for a lysine trade association. During the December 1993 meeting in Tokyo, he said an association would allow the lysine makers to get together. According to a Government affidavit that summarized the conversation, he said it would "conceal the fact that purported competitors were secretly meeting to discuss price and sales volumes."

During that meeting, Mr. Wilson also suggested that each company report its monthly sales to Ajinomoto. The executives agreed.

By March 10, 1994, the plans were well under way as the companies met at a hotel in Hawaii. One executive passed out an agenda for the lysine association, commenting that the organization was "an easy cover-up" for price fixing, the affidavit says.

During the rest of the meeting, the executives submitted their February sales figures and debated whether to start auditing the reports. One participant expressed concern that the audit of just one company product might appear suspicious.

As the men debated, it was clear that the distrust that marked the plan's beginnings had disappeared.

"You're my friend," Mr. Wilson told the assembled competitors. "I want to be closer to you than I am to any customer. Because you can make it where I can make money or I can't make money."

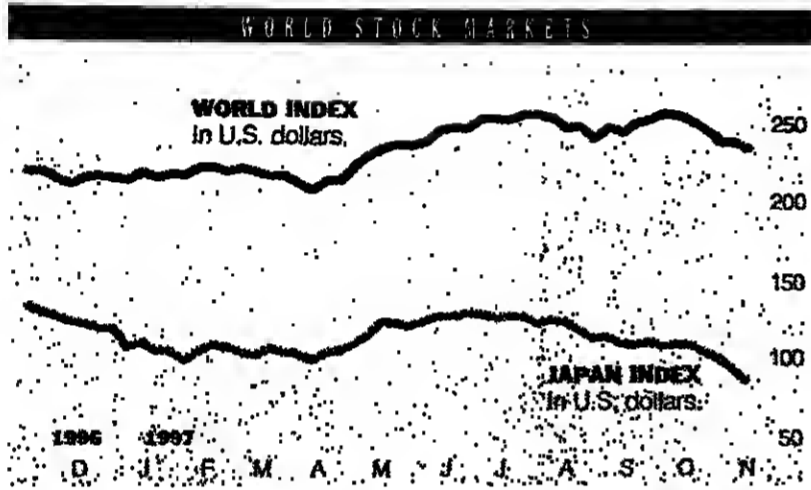
Then Mr. Wilson encouraged the executives to just get the job done. "Let's put the prices on the board," he said.

For another year, the Government gathered evidence, allowing the price-fixing conspiracy to work and the crime to be completed. On June 27, 1995, Federal agents armed with search warrants descended on Archer Daniels and other companies.

Within weeks, Archer Daniels disclosed that Mr. Whitacre had been taking money from the company, including several million while he was under the F.B.I.'s wing. Mr. Whitacre attempted suicide and was hospitalized. Soon, his condition was diagnosed as manic-depressive. The problems so prominent early in the case re-emerged with a vengeance.

With Mr. Whitacre's credibility in shambles, the Government used his tapes to wrest guilty pleas out of participants. Then, with their cooperation, prosecutors last December indicted Mr. Andreas, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Whitacre and Kazutoshi Yamada, an Ajinomoto executive. The Archer Daniels executives have pleaded not guilty; Mr. Yamada failed to appear.

The opening day of their trial is scheduled for early next year. □



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Table with columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., YTD Rank, Dividend Yield, Index, YTD % Chg.

Table with columns: Composite Indices, Index, % Chg., Index, % Chg.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

Table with columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago.

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

Nov. 10-14: Dow Perks Up at Week's End, on Greenspan's Words and Good News on Inflation

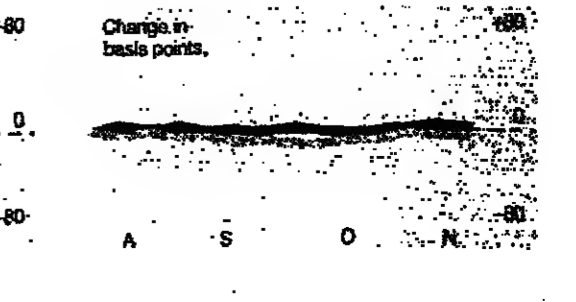
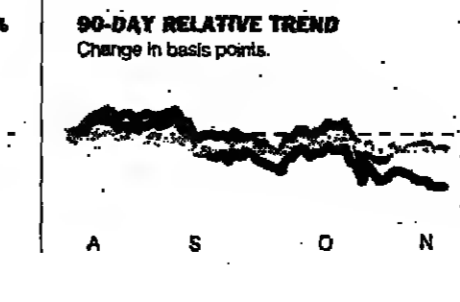
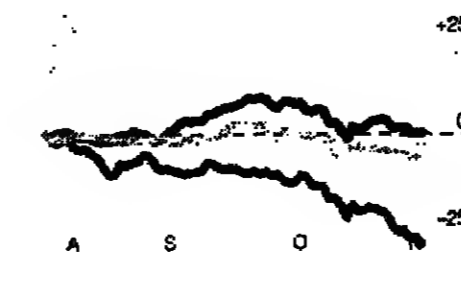
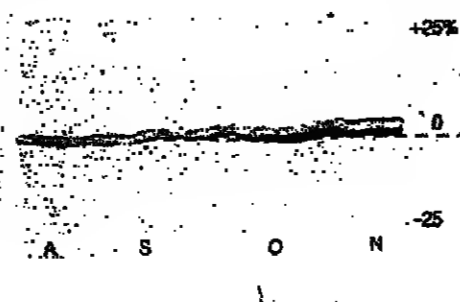
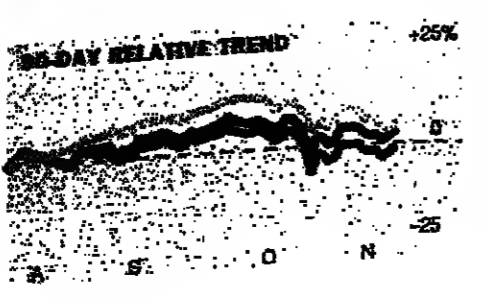
Table with columns: Domestic Equities, Index, % Chg.

Table with columns: Domestic Bonds, Index, % Chg.

Table with columns: Around the World, Index, % Chg.

Table with columns: Yields, Index, % Chg.

Table with columns: Other Investments, Index, % Chg.



The Ultimate Mystery Is q's Intent

It's Unthinkable

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The Saddam Hussein Problem

The world has a Saddam Hussein problem. To say it that way defines the threat that he represents to the biosphere, the envelope of air and water that he proposes to infest with pesticides that respect no political boundaries. It also helps frame the reality that another round of American military action may be needed to deal with a man who seems determined to be both a nuclear renegade and a transporter of timeless plagues.

There have been no inspections of Iraq's germ-warfare programs since Oct. 29. Its fermenters can prepare anthrax for weapons use in a matter of days. Given the right conditions, an airborne release of anthrax over a city could kill as many as 100,000 people. Friday's departure of the inspection force means the system of arms control imposed after the gulf war has lapsed, leaving Iraq's neighbors and the global community in a situation of intolerable vulnerability.

A new system has to be put in place as soon as possible. All week, President Clinton was properly cautious about exercising the most solemn duty of his office, which is to decide when to risk American lives in combat. He called Friday for a new regime of diplomatic pressures aimed at forcing Mr. Hussein back into compliance with United Nations inspection requirements. The principal hope for a peaceful resolution rests with the French, who are at last pressing Iraq's leader to end his defiance. We

also urge the President to consider imposing a no-flight zone across Iraq, forcing Mr. Hussein to contemplate a grounded economy and loss of his aircraft as the price of noncompliance.

But it is hard to argue with those who think all such steps will fail because Mr. Hussein believes events are trending his way or because he wants to be hit as a way to rally his people and divide his enemies. The U.N. Security Council remains divided over endorsing further military action. Fortunately President Clinton has authority under previous U.N. resolutions to make sure that the terms of the gulf war cease-fire, including arms inspections, are enforced. If this last round of diplomacy fails, Mr. Clinton will be justified in going to the enforcement procedure of last resort, which is the use of military strikes at Iraqi ground targets.

This could take the form of retaliatory attacks if the Iraqis fire on the U-2 surveillance flights that could resume as early as today. Mr. Clinton can clearly get Congressional approval, as he should, for the heavier blows that will be possible when Navy and Air Force units are in position in the coming days. Over time, this page has endorsed such action with great reluctance. But the risk that Mr. Hussein is mad enough to unleash biological agents avoided by the century's worst villains is simply too great. The U.N. inspectors have to get back into Iraq, by force if necessary.

Who's Sorry Now? One Guess, Please

Janet Reno is livid, again, about what she cannot find out from her own staff about possible Chinese Government contributions to American campaigns. She is also embarrassed, yet again, that she misled Senator Fred Thompson by saying that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had no more information about the Chinese connection. She has apologized to Mr. Thompson, who shut down his inquiry on foreign money in the 1996 election on Oct. 31, six days before Ms. Reno experienced her most recent discovery that she, the Senate and the American people were not being told what her agents knew and when they knew it.

This is the gist of a report by Bob Woodward in The Washington Post, and it presents us once more with the problem that has beset Ms. Reno for 13 months. Her department's investigation of campaign finance is badly managed and floundering. The new information allegedly concerns ties between the Chinese Government and Maria Hsia, the Democratic fund-raiser involved in Vice President Al Gore's Buddhist temple fund-raiser. Luckily, there is a solution for the Attorney General. We quietly suggest, yet again, the appointment of an independent counsel with a mandate that includes all aspects of Democratic and Republican fund-

raising. Such a counsel would take over existing inquiries involving President Clinton, Mr. Gore and Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt. More important, such a counsel would then be free to wade into the thicket that keeps producing Ms. Reno's surprises — the Democrats' seeking of foreign money and the White House's peddling of access for contributions. He or she could also tackle the legally suspect financing of campaign ads by both Mr. Clinton and his opponent, Senator Bob Dole.

But why go on? The point here is that these serial surprises, like the one in Mr. Woodward's story, are not going to end unless everyone in journalism runs out of ink or air time. This newspaper has had its share of disclosures. So have some news magazines and networks.

The toothpaste just keeps coming out of the tube, and Ms. Reno is not even squeezing it. She needs to pass it off to someone else who will squeeze persistently and evenly. Who knows what will come out then? No doubt Attorney General Reno will be surprised. But at least her amazement would then be a matter of personal emotion rather than mere proof of lapsed public duty on her part. For Ms. Reno, appointment of an independent counsel would mean never having to say you're sorry — yet again.

Mr. Dornan's Wasteful Crusade

The House Oversight Committee's investigation into the election of Representative Loretta Sanchez, a Democrat, has become a costly farce that should come to a quick end. The inquiry began after former Representative Robert K. Dornan, a Republican, contested the 1996 election in which he lost his Orange County, Calif., seat to Ms. Sanchez by 984 votes. He claims the election was tainted by voter fraud and voting by non-citizens.

Mr. Dornan has had nearly a year to prove his case and has not done so. California's Republican Secretary of State has stated that some 300 votes were suspect. After 11 months of investigation, there is still no evidence that the number of bad

votes would be sufficient to alter the outcome. The House committee, however, continues to carry on this pointless crusade. It subpoenaed a flood of information from the Immigration and Naturalization Service to match names from I.N.S. data banks with voters in the Congressional district. The I.N.S. has warned the committee that the computer data cannot be used to prove citizenship because the records are often incomplete.

The committee has spent \$300,000, the I.N.S. has spent \$150,000 and Ms. Sanchez has spent \$400,000 in legal fees. The committee should stop this nonsense and tell Mr. Dornan that the only way to get back the seat is to win the next election.

Editorial Observer/TINA ROSENBERG

When Old Cold Warriors Replay Poland's Crisis

JACHRANKA, Poland
Viktor Kulikov is a blunt man, and he sent a blunt message last week-end when he arrived in a small town outside Warsaw. The Russian general was a participant in a conference to reconstruct a significant event of the cold war — the Polish crisis of 1980 and 1981, which saw the rise of Solidarity and Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's attempt to crush it by imposing martial law. Mr. Kulikov came to the meeting with a retinue of aides, in full uniform and with Soviet insignia on the shoulderboards.

The conference was sponsored by two Washington groups, the National Security Archive and the Woodrow Wilson Center's Cold War International History Project. It was one in a series bringing together newly released documents and old — sometimes very old — participants in cold war flashpoints. At this conference, held with the Polish Academy of Sciences, officials from Moscow, Polish Communists, Solidarity leaders and members of the Carter and Reagan Administrations gathered to probe the historical mysteries remaining from the Polish crisis.

Was the general in dark glasses a hero or a traitor?

Many of them concerned the relationship between Mr. Kulikov and Mr. Jaruzelski. Mr. Kulikov came to Poland 22 times in 1981 bearing threats that plans for martial law were moving too slowly and that drastic consequences would ensue. Several times, Soviet troops massed on the Polish border.

Were the threats of invasion real or a bluff? And if they were a bluff, did General Jaruzelski know it? The question of whether General Jaruzelski is a hero or a traitor is a living one for many Poles, who hold sovereignty all the more precious after centuries of foreign occupation.

When asked about Moscow's intentions and actions, Marshal Kulikov and retired Gen. Anatoly Gribkov, who had been his chief of staff, mainly offered lectures on the "traitors" who brought down the Warsaw Pact

denunciations of NATO and statements that provoked outright laughter, such as the news that Communism Poland was a fully sovereign nation and that Moscow never pressured the Poles to call martial law.

The Russians' crudeness was shocking, but General Jaruzelski was hardly more forthcoming. Since he handed over Poland's presidency to Lech Walesa in 1990, he has spent his time seeking historical vindication as a Polish patriot who deterred a Soviet invasion. At the conference, he repeated his now familiar story of Soviet pressures. He evaded most other questions, no doubt worried that a new right-wing parliament might revive a long legal case against him that a previous left-wing parliament dropped.

History, however, is likely to decide that although he did so reluctantly, in the end he carried out his Soviet masters' bidding. In minutes of Soviet Politburo meetings just before martial law, Soviet leaders underscored that the Soviets had too much to lose to invade Poland, and that they had told General Jaruzelski they would not invade. Officials even

report that he asked Moscow for backup in case martial law failed.

Nevertheless, the impression he gives now is one of pathos. His trademark dark glasses and stiff posture are no longer menacing now that the end of Communism allowed him to reveal that they are the results of injuries from his own experience of Soviet ruthlessness — forced labor in Siberia, where Stalin interned his family in World War II. He must know that even if a court never convicts him, future generations will.

At the conference he was even betrayed by the men he had served. He sat, silent and virtually expressionless, as the Russians denied they had pressured him. After the close of the session, he approached Marshal Kulikov in the nearly empty room. "You know what you said to me back then," witnesses reported that General Jaruzelski whispered, in Russian. "How could you do this to me in front of the Americans?" Mr. Kulikov bowed his head. General Jaruzelski seemed to be near tears, a rare display of emotion from a man broken by both the history he suffered and the history he made.

For the Poor Especially, AIDS Is Still Rampaging

To the Editor:
"New Challenge to Idea That 'AIDS Is Special'" (front page, Nov. 12) is the latest in a series of disquieting articles that question the need for continued "AIDS exceptionalism." Unfortunately, these discussions largely ignore the more pressing needs of the increasing numbers of disadvantaged and minority people with H.I.V.

The focus on more sensational examples of AIDS-related largess gives ammunition to critics whose agendas threaten not just "candlelight dinners" at Gay Men's Health Crisis but also decent housing and drug treatment for those H.I.V.-infected people who never visit G.M.H.C. Indeed, the growing back-

lash against AIDS exceptionalism could well replace the much-maligned "welfare deadbeats" of past political debates with "H.I.V. hogs."

The recent enthusiasm over newer anti-H.I.V. therapies — and the spectacular success of AIDS services aimed at predominantly middle-class gay Americans with H.I.V. — risks the illusion that the battle is being won and that we can once again turn our backs on those unfortunate citizens for whom the devastation of AIDS is but a metaphor for the disdain with which society has regarded them.

DANIEL BAXTER, M.D.
New York, Nov. 12, 1997
The writer is director of adult medicine and H.I.V. services at the William F. Ryan Community Health Center.

Therapy, but No Cure

To the Editor:
The Nov. 12 front-page article on "AIDS exceptionalism" perpetuates the myth that the AIDS crisis is over and woefully underestimates the challenges that people with H.I.V. face. Of those who can both afford and tolerate the new drug combination therapy, up to 50 percent experience treatment failure within two years. Until combination therapy stands the test of time, AIDS remains only a hope of becoming a chronic manageable illness.

Gay Men's Health Crisis evolved as a social service agency, not a health care provider, for people facing inevitable death and suffering. The challenge for G.M.H.C. today is not whether to cut out the chicken Parmesan lunches, but to address a diverse disease and its prevention. People are still being rejected, losing housing and jobs, facing declining health and dying.

STEVEN M. GABRIEL
New York, Nov. 13, 1997

Washington Set the Stage for Slavery's End



To the Editor:
Re "Blacks Strip Slaveholders' Names Off Schools" (front page, Nov. 12): While I applaud the efforts to broaden the scope of American history, please let George Washington alone. Yes, he was a slaveholder and Benjamin Franklin was a womanizer and John Adams was obnoxious. It should not surprise us that these dead white men were men, and men of their times.

What is forgotten by the Orleans Parish School Board is that these men set in motion a process that ultimately destroyed the institution of slavery. The American Revolution is the watershed event in the history of African-Americans.

The oow-defrocked George Washington once said that he intended to "lay a foundation for a destiny different from that into which [slaves] were born."

RONALD BLUMER
New York, Nov. 12, 1997

Greater Contribution

To the Editor:
By changing the name of George Washington Elementary to Dr. Charles Richard Drew Elementary, is Orleans Parish saying that honoring personal liberties — freedom of the press, speech and religion — and those like George Washington who worked for them should take a backseat to political correctness (front page, Nov. 12)?

As a doctor, I am aware of Dr. Drew's contributions to blood bank technology. Yet I can't help but feel that Washington's contributions to our civilization were more beneficial to all of us than Dr. Drew's more modest ones.

MARK J. SHUMATE, M.D.
Decatur, Ga., Nov. 12, 1997

How to Honor Diversity

To the Editor:
In choosing to recognize George Washington's primary place in history as slaveholder rather than first President or defender of a fledgling nation, the Orleans Parish School Board does a disservice to all citizens (front page, Nov. 12). Failure to acknowledge the role time plays in forming attitudes limits our ability to see the greatness of a nation that has come to a new understanding of a multicultural society, one that is striving to provide equal opportunity.

ALIZA TECHMAN
Brooklyn, Nov. 13, 1997

Eat Right and Exercise

To the Editor:
Re "Cholesterol Drugs Shown to Cut Healthy Group's Risk" (news article, Nov. 13):

It's discouraging that patients and time-pressed physicians prefer swallowing and prescribing medication over nutrition and exercise counseling. Weight reduction, plant-based diets and regular exercise often work just as well as cholesterol-reducing drugs like Mevacor, and without the side effects. I'd rather see people eat more garlic and kale and swim a few laps than risk loss of alertness and dexterity.

It's also disturbing to see prescription drugs, originally designed for high-risk patients, pushed on healthy middle-aged people who are capable of constructive life style changes. Should we worry that Merck & Company, which financed the research, markets Mevacor and not vegetarian burgers?

SUSAN ASANOVIC
Wilton, Conn., Nov. 13, 1997
The writer is a dietitian.

Early Treatment a Must

To the Editor:
Re "New Challenge to Idea That 'AIDS Is Special'" (front page, Nov. 12): While millions of Federal and private dollars support research and care for many with H.I.V., there are still thousands more who must be come impoverished and disabled to get Medicaid coverage of breakthrough therapies that are preventing the onset of AIDS. This Medicaid disability policy is inconsistent with the the National Institutes of Health's call for early treatment before disability.

AIDS activists have sought a special category of Medicaid eligibility for low-income people with H.I.V. because prevention saves dollars and lives. Federal appropriations for state AIDS drug assistance programs provide some relief but guarantee nothing, as people in states where the programs have run out of money have discovered.

If "AIDS exceptionalism" calls attention to the needs of others suffering from our health care system's many gaps, such examination could work to end this game of chance.

LAURENCE M. LAVIN
Dir., National Health Law Program
Los Angeles, Nov. 12, 1997

Heart Disease vs. AIDS

To the Editor:
Your Nov. 12 front-page article on "AIDS exceptionalism" reports that for years the American Heart Association has argued that "more research money was spent per patient on AIDS than on heart disease." Such a correlation of research money and patients is meaningless. An individual afflicted with heart disease benefits from every dollar ever spent on research, and over time, far more money has been spent on heart disease than on AIDS. Considering that the disease is really what research money is spent on, heart disease has clearly received better treatment than AIDS.

CRAN CASEY
New York, Nov. 12, 1997

National Plan Needed

To the Editor:
I was quoted at the end of "New Challenge to Idea That 'AIDS Is Special'" (front page, Nov. 12). I worry that my remarks may be misconstrued to support the idea that people living with AIDS should be treated just like anyone living with another disease — in other words, receiving little or no public support.

All people living with a serious medical condition should be provided with full medical and social services. The only real solution for all Americans is a national health care system, just as in every other industrialized democracy, a position long supported by Gay Men's Health Crisis and the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power.

MARK HANNAY
New York, Nov. 12, 1997

Account Belies Nixon's Despair Over Watergate

To the Editor:
"Take My Vice President, Please! The Lighter Side of Watergate" (Week in Review, Nov. 9) is an outrageous distortion of the Nixon tapes.

You write: "April 30, 1973: The President cracks up his speechwriter, Raymond K. Price, with the idea of resigning in favor of his Vice President, Spiro T. Agnew, who himself will soon face criminal charges. Mr. Price has written a speech for the President, to be delivered that night announcing the resignations of Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman and Mr. Dean." And then you present woven-

together snippets from our conversation as if we were treating it as a laughing matter.

I remember that episode vividly. It marked one of the emotional nadirs of Richard Nixon's Presidency. It was a Monday, the day after he had met with Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman to request and receive their resignations, and just hours before he had to go on television from the Oval Office. He was torn, utterly drained and devastated, and as we were going over the final revisions, he stunned me by asking whether I thought that he, too, should resign, and saying that if I thought so, I didn't have to tell him; I should just include it in the next draft and he would do it. He was close enough to the edge that I thought then, and still think, he might have done so.

My response was to argue that the work he had begun — reshaping relations among the great powers, defusing threats to peace in the Middle East and laying the groundwork for a more secure world — was unfinished, that he had to see the job through and that this required his skills, not Mr. Agnew's.

These were neither trivial nor joking matters. Nor was it, as you characterize it, our "own unique brand of knee-slapping, rib-ticking, stop-you're-killing-me humor." It was a time of agony, despair and, by day's end, sufficient recovery to press forward.

RAYMOND K. PRICE JR.
New York, Nov. 9, 1997

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Racism Is Not The Issue
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Racism Is Not The Issue

By Orlando Patterson

W CAMBRIDGE, Mass. by are we having a national argument on race? By all objective

measures — recent opinion polls, demographic data and academic studies — race relations between blacks and whites have never been better. What is more, the majority of African-Americans are content, even optimistic, about their interactions with European-Americans, according to a close reading of a recent Gallup Poll, for example, and other surveys.

This viewpoint has also been forcefully argued by the scholars Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom in their new book, "America in Black and White." While I differ with many of their arguments, particularly with their opposition to affirmative action, their basic premise is correct — that relations between the races are getting better, as are the conditions of most African-Americans.

Nonetheless, civil rights leaders insist that this belief is dangerously wrong because they think that America remains mired in racism. Social scientists like Stephen Steinberg of Queens College in New York indict America for its retreat from policies supporting racial equality; Carl Rowan, a syndicated columnist, has just published a book called "The Coming Race War," and the journalist David K. Shipler has titled his pessimistic book about race "A Country of Strangers."

Finally, President Clinton has placed the resolution of the so-called crisis on his list of potential historical legacies.

But let's get the facts straight. According to the most recent census data, blacks have virtually closed the gap with whites not only in the percentage graduating from high school but also in the percentage graduating from junior college.

Black full-time workers have also started to close the income gap, according to census data. From 1970 to 1996, the average annual income of white men declined by 3 percent, to \$34,741, while that of black men increased by 11 percent to \$27,136.

Nonetheless, major problems still remain for the bottom quarter of the African-American population — 26 percent of all black families and 41.5 percent of their children remain trapped in poverty. The situation is no longer worsening, but it is no better than conditions were a quarter century ago.

Nor have we seen the end of racism, as some conservatives like Dinesh D'Souza have absurdly announced. About 20 percent of white Americans are still at least mildly racist (meaning, among other things, that they are averse to living in neighborhoods with only a few minority families), according to my research using polls, including one in 1994 by the National Opin-

Orlando Patterson, a professor of sociology at Harvard, is the author of "The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's 'Racial' Crisis."



Judith S. Harris

Poor blacks need good jobs, not bromides on race.

ion Research Center. But because blacks make up only 13 percent of the population, this means that for every two blacks there are still three white racists.

We have made great progress, but there is still a long way to go. Here is what we should be asking: How does racism hurt the lives of African-Americans? For the poorest among them, is racism the real problem? Do ordinary black Americans think that race is their biggest problem?

When it comes to earnings and self-esteem, racism may be less of a problem for the poorest blacks and more of a problem for middle-class blacks who are in direct competition with whites for jobs, status and power. This is the main reason that I think we need affirmative action for another 15 years or so. Isolated from critical networks of influence and economic power, middle-class blacks badly need affirmative action to level a playing field that for 300 years favored whites.

Certainly, poor blacks are hurt by racial discrimination — mostly in biased police behavior and draconian drug-sentencing laws that result in horrendous incarceration rates for young men. But as the sociologist William Julius Wilson emphasized more than 19 years ago, race is of secondary importance when it comes to the economic conditions of poor blacks. Poor blacks, like poor whites, are impoverished partly because they attend bad schools, come from broken families and live in broken communities. But

the basic problem is that the poor, no matter how hard they work, earn too little to pull themselves out of poverty.

Indeed, in a Gallup Poll taken in June, poor blacks said that money, not racism, was their biggest problem. This poll, which measured race relations, found that three-quarters of blacks considered their own relations with whites to be good, and indeed, had a close white friend. The same poll found, however, that 53 percent of blacks were dissatisfied with their incomes. Unsurprisingly, for poorer African-Americans, the figure was much higher.

If money is the problem and not racism, why do many leaders, white and black, warn that America's racial problems are getting worse? This pessimism results from a strange collision of interests.

White liberals believe to some degree the stereotype that African-Americans are a dependent and chronically victimized group. Any problem associated with blacks is simply assumed to be racist in origin. Emphasizing failure and crisis is also an effective way to argue for more government intervention.

Black political leaders also have a vested interest in maintaining that a racial crisis exists. Their legitimacy and a good part of their livelihood depend on defending entitlement programs.

On the right, leaders and scholars exaggerate the crisis in race relations to highlight the failures of liberal programs.

The news media give all these wrong-headed beliefs their full attention. In the tabloids and on the television news, articles about urban crime and racial incidents are common. Even leading newspapers play the "racism forever" game, partly out of a misguided and patronizing liberalism. For instance, in reporting the results of the June Gallup Poll referred to earlier, most newspapers

stressed the one pessimistic finding: that a majority of black respondents thought that relations between the races were generally getting worse — an impression drawn from the press itself.

Newspapers ignored the more accurate and positive finding: the great majority of respondents reported that their own experiences with whites were good and getting better.

Martin Luther King's dream of an integrated America has not been deferred. The nation is overcoming what was once its greatest flaw, racism. Denying its persistence is naive and reactionary. But ignoring the country's extraordinary progress, while exaggerating racism's impact, is counterproductive as well. It obscures and diverts attention from what is now our greatest shame — chronic poverty and growing income inequality — and it plays right into the hands of those on the right and left who promote the vile dogma of racial separatism.

In America

BOB HERBERT

No More Excuses

There was a time when a New York City police officer could kill a civilian under almost any circumstances and get away with it. That seems to be changing.

Last July a jury in the Bronx found Officer Paolo Colechia guilty of second-degree manslaughter for shooting an unarmed man in the back. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani had signaled his distress over the officer's action when he attended the victim's funeral. The Mayor said of the shooting: "There does not appear to be any explanation for it."

Last month a jury in Westchester County returned a murder conviction against a New York City cop, Richard D. DiGuglielmo, who shot a man to death in a dispute over a parking space in Dobbs Ferry. That case was vigorously prosecuted from the beginning by the office of the Westchester County District Attorney, Jeanine Pirro.

On Nov. 8 Francis X. Livoti, an officer who had been acquitted of strangling a man in the Bronx last year, was sentenced to seven and a half months in prison for choking a teenager in a separate case. The teenager survived. But in handing down the sentence, the judge, Megan Tallmer, made it clear that she had taken into account Mr. Livoti's prior brutal behavior. The attack on the teenager, she said, was not an isolated incident.

All three officers have been dismissed from the police force and no one who is sane is arguing that their absence is hampering the fight against crime.

Now we have the case of Richard Molloy, a Bronx cop who came up with a remarkable defense to the charge that he wantonly killed a tiny Irish immigrant named Patrick (Hessy) Phelan.

Mr. Phelan, who was barely 5 feet tall and weighed less than 100 pounds, liked to drink and was known to become obnoxious when under the influence. He was an acquaintance of Officer Molloy. During a night of drinking in January 1996, Mr. Molloy, off-duty and in civilian clothes, is alleged to have pushed his service revolver right up against the inner corner of Mr. Phelan's left eye and fired.

Mr. Phelan was seated on a sofa when he was shot. The bullet passed through his brain and exited the back of his head. He fell backward. His eye was gone and he gasped desperately for breath. He would be pronounced dead a little more than an hour later.

Officer Molloy's defense? That the drunken Mr. Phelan committed suicide. Shot himself in the eye with the officer's gun. Grabbed the gun from the officer's holster without the officer even realizing it. Shot himself before the officer could stop him.

The gun ended up in Mr. Molloy's pocket. Did Mr. Phelan, mortally wounded, obligingly hand the suicide weapon back to its rightful owner? Was it only at that point that he fell back and died?

In the old days any defense would do. In 1993 Officer Molloy shot and killed an ex-convict named Graciano Santamaria. Mr. Santamaria was unarmed, but Officer Molloy said he

Holding police accountable.

thought he was reaching for a gun. Hey, good enough. No action was taken against the officer. So long, Mr. Santamaria.

For a while it looked as if Mr. Molloy would beat the Phelan problem as well. A grand jury indicted him for second-degree murder but a judge threw the indictment out. The matter could have died right there.

But the Bronx District Attorney, Robert Johnson, appealed. Last week, in a unanimous ruling, a four-judge Appellate Division panel reinstated the indictment. The ruling said, in part:

"The gun was secured in [Officer Molloy's] holster by a leather strap which ran from the outside, over the handle, behind the hammer, and snapped on the 'body' side. It was demonstrated to the Grand Jury that the gun could not be pulled from the holster with one hand while the strap was snapped shut. Defendant never saw or felt Hessy removing his gun."

The ruling also noted that the police were summoned after the shooting "but not before" Mr. Molloy instructed a man named Cormac Lee, who had been in another room in the apartment, to "tell them nothing."

The ruling quotes Mr. Molloy as saying to Mr. Lee: "You know nothing." In the old days, when any old excuse was sufficient, Mr. Molloy would have been home free by now. But things, however slowly, are changing. He now faces trial for murder. □

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

The President's Friend

WASHINGTON Bill Clinton is a lucky President. In the long run-up to his sexual misconduct trial, along comes a book detailing President Kennedy's sexual obsession that makes Clinton look like a choirboy.

In "The Dark Side of Camelot," journalism's Javert, the relentless Sy Hersh, tracks down a parade of Presidential paramours and corroborates their revelations with a quartet of Secret Service witnesses.

Kennedy loyalists are still in denial, but the stack of on-the-record interviews will be hard to refute and Hersh can sandbag the sanitizers with more. You don't have to be a bluesman to conclude that the risky carrying-on was excessive, or to consider it strange for a President to court blackmail so cavalierly.

Did all the nude frolicking with aides Fiddle and Faddle in the White House pool lessen Kennedy's effectiveness as President?

I think not. Libertinism was not the trouble with the Kennedy Administration. The prurient interest is not the public interest.

How can I say that, having been in the Nosy Parker vanguard a generation ago? In a larger sense, what can justify the press's poking into the private lives of public officials?

Not every interest in illicit relationships is prurient. Let me recount the Case of the Missing Pronoun.

In 1975, a dozen years after Kennedy's death, an exposé of C.I.A. wrongdoing by Hersh, then a Times reporter, led to a Senate investigation headed by Democrat Frank Church. The Church committee report con-

Ask not what biographers can do to you.

tained a curious footnote about a C.I.A. operation in the Kennedy era. "A close friend of President Kennedy had frequent contact with the President. ... FBI reports and testimony indicated the President's friend was also a close friend of [Chicago Mafia bosses] John Roselli and Sam Giancana and saw them often during this same period. ... White House telephone logs show 70 instances of phone contact between the WH and the P's friend. ... The repeated use of the phrase 'the President's friend' as subject and object struck me as curious; not only was the name concealed, but by avoiding the use of any pronoun, the sex of the friend was also concealed. Why was the committee going through grammatical contortions to avoid saying 'he' or 'she'? Simple deduction: because it was 'she,' and the senators did not want readers to assume that a romantic liaison was involved.

I shared my suspicion with a Times reporter in Washington: "Looks like the President's girlfriend was also a gangster's moll. Isn't Mafia penetration of the White House a story?" My Times colleague (I use no pronoun) replied: "Scripps Howard had a piece about this last week by Tim Wynyard and Dan Thomasson, ran in The Cleveland Press. Woman's name is Judith Exner. But we don't touch this kind of story with a barge pole."

If news does not appear in The New York Times, it hasn't really happened, so I went with the story in a column titled "The President's Friend." But it troubled me: although Nixonians were never believers in Camelot mythology, I was quaintly queasy about invading the slain President's privacy.

"The private life of any public figure is nobody's business," I felt the need to explain to readers, "but when the nation's Chief Executive receives even a few calls from the home telephone of the leader of the Mafia in Chicago, that crosses the line into the public's business. ..."

The Times's editors in New York properly treated the Exner testimony as newsworthy, which signaled to the rest of journalism that the story was touchable. But accounts of immorality in Camelot, coming on top of the political immorality of Watergate, had an unfortunate fallout: In most media, what used to be nobody's business has become anybody's business. The line of decorum has been erased.

What, then, do we make of Hersh's diligently distasteful, 350,000-first-priming, hard late hit? Historians must take its exclusive interviews into account, but to dwell so intently on the chapters about J.F.K.'s womanizing is to warp all fair assessment.

As for Judy Exner's latest claims to have been a faithful Kennedy bag-woman — she's changed her story too often over the decades. She was surely the Mafia's link to Camelot, but she is no longer the President's friend. □

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THE ARTS

At 50, David Mamet Is Ready to Tell His Story

By BRUCE WEBER

BOSTON THE REHEARSAL took place on a recent Sunday in a cellar-like space in this city's South End. The room was spare. Two actors, Peter Riegert and Vincent Guastaferrro, sat on folding chairs against the backdrop of a brick wall, observed by only a few others. One was the playwright, David Mamet, who sat directly in front of them, a familiar, stocky figure with a bluntly trimmed beard, round glasses and a baseball cap.

That's more information than Mr. Mamet would supply about the setting for one of his plays. But of course the thing about Mr. Mamet is there's a lot that isn't made explicit. For all the rage and anguish that gets communicated in his work, much of it is hidden, repressed, rolling but invisible.

Indeed, in the rehearsal, which was for "The Old Neighborhood," Mr. Mamet's play that opens at the Booth Theater on Wednesday, it wasn't the lines giving the actors trouble so much as what was between them: the pauses and the language-less utterances that Mr. Mamet meticulously includes, to give rhythm and emphasis to the actual words.

"Tolstoy said a great thing," Mr. Mamet told the actors as they struggled to communicate the friendship between their characters in a scene in which the lines seemed disjointed and obscure. "You can tell that a marriage is on the rocks when they speak to each other rationally."

Clever, referential, oblique and biting, it was a remark typical of Mr. Mamet, who turns 50 at the end of the month. Perhaps alone among American writers in his embrace of both serious and popular culture, he is in a period of remarkable productivity, even by his own prolific standards.

He has just published two books, "True and False," a prickly and exhortatory treatise for young actors about the trials of their chosen profession; and a novel, "The Old Religion," which purports to trace the thoughts of Leo Frank — the Jewish factory manager in Georgia, who in 1915 was wrongly convicted and executed for the rape and murder of one of his employees — as he waited out his torment in prison.

And then there are the movies, which seem to pour out of him. He wrote the screenplay for the Anthony Hopkins-Alec Baldwin film, "The Edge," now in theaters; he has finished "The Spanish Prisoner," an independent film about an elaborate con game that stars Steve Martin and Campbell Scott and that he wrote and directed; "Wag the Dog," a political satire he wrote for the director Barry Levinson, is to be released next month, and he has completed several new screenplays, including a remake of "The Cincinnati Kid" for Al Pacino.

"HAD to give him an award recently," said Ricky Jay, the writer and prestidigitator who is a close friend of the playwright and who appears in "The Spanish Prisoner." "And as I was making my introduction speech, I looked down along the podium and I saw Dave was making notes. I thought he had finished another couple of screenplays while I was talking."

But beyond the sheer volume, the work, particularly his stage dramas, has begun to take on a reflective, personal cast. It is as if Mr. Mamet — whose angry male characters in plays like "Glengarry Glen Ross," "American Buffalo" and "Sexual Perversity in Chicago" made his reputation as an iconoclastic bard of rage — has softened enough to let the world in on some of his secrets.

It was in "The Rake," a short, autobiographical essay published in 1992, that Mr. Mamet first revealed in print what was apparently a childhood spent in torment, the chief villain being a stepfather. In the essay, he recounts an incident in which the

stepfather threw his younger sister, Lynn, across the room, cracking a vertebra in her back. His last play, "The Cryptogram," depicts the life of a young boy living in a fractured home, where the parents lie to each other and manipulate him, and concludes with the image of the silent child ascending a staircase to an attic, holding a knife and apparently bent on self-destruction.

Now there is "The Old Neighborhood," which consists of three previously written one-acts that have been revised and knitted together into one, and which, even as it is among Mr. Mamet's most oblique and stylistically spare plays, resonates as his most openly autobiographical. The play had its world premiere last April in a separate production at the American Repertory Theater in Cambridge, Mass., directed then, as now, by Scott Zigler.

In it, Bobby Gould, whose name recurs in Mr. Mamet's work and who in this case he acknowledges to be his alter ego, makes a midlife visit to his hometown. There, he confronts, in separate painful conversations, a childhood friend (Mr. Guastaferrro), his sister (played by Patti LuPone) and a past lover, played by Mr. Mamet's wife, Rebecca Pidgeon. The events that inform their shared pain are never made specific; it is only evident that it still stirs them.

"In many ways it's an old-fashioned play, of the kind you would see in the 50's," Mr. Mamet said, "a kitchen play, a reflective, family-oriented play." And that may be so, though in the traditional family play, the events that cause the conflict are dramatized on stage. In "The Old Neighborhood," the conflicts are old: the strife-causing events are being kept alive by the characters' memories. Can the same be said of the playwright? Is it fair for a theatergoer to see David Mamet in Bobby Gould?

"If you want," Mr. Mamet said. "But it seems to me that that happens only if the play isn't any good."

In a midday interview at his favorite luncheonette, near his home in West Newton ("A big plate of crunchy bacon," he told the waiter, "yum, yum, yum, yum, yum"), Mr. Mamet glanced off a number of subjects, among them: his burgeoning predilection for minimalism ("Doing more with less, that's what art is about, juggling with one ball") and the evils of the movie business (and how much fun it is, which would explain why he tolerates the grinding Hollywood system he lambastes in his new acting book).

"Why deal with Hollywood?" he said. "It's screaming good fun. It pays very, very well. And in certain ways, it's the big table, and as a gambler I always wanted to play at the big table. I'm not an ascetic. I'm greedy and ambitious like everybody else."

And he spoke, with enthusiasm, about a production of "Hamlet" he has been directing in fitful rehearsals over the last two years. His friend William H. Macy is in the title role, and the cast has included such Hollywood luminaries as Michael J. Fox (Laertes) and Whoopi Goldberg (the Player King).

"I'm trying to talk Steve Martin into playing Claudius," he said. He plans to stage it in Manhattan, at the tiny Atlantic Theater, the home of the company he and Mr. Macy helped found in the 1980's. With such a cast, why not Broadway?

"I want to see people clawing each other to death outside the theater," he said.

AND he also showed off his predilection, within the context of ordinary discourse, to cite the wisdom of others. Within a couple of hours, he managed to quote, or paraphrase, Mike Nichols, Stanislavski, Paul Newman, Groucho Marx, Ethel Merman and the Greek philosopher Epicurus ("Keep your principles few and simple so you may refer to them at a moment's notice").

On the subjects of his productivity ("What else is there to do?") and his



David Mamet rehearses "The Old Neighborhood," which opens this week at the Booth Theater in Boston.

advancing age, he is inclined to glibness. "Probably," he said, asked if turning 50 meant anything to him, though he was a bit more revealing in summing up the theme of "The Edge," in which Anthony Hopkins bests Alec Baldwin in a survival test that is also a symbolic battle over a woman.

"Old age and treachery will always beat youth and exuberance," he said.

What he was most reluctant to discuss was the provenance of the new play. He admitted that the old neighborhood of the title is in Chicago, where he grew up, though it never says so in the play, and that Bobby is his stand-in. But he wouldn't acknowledge much else. "You know, young actors say all the time, 'Should I use my own life experience?' " he said. "And my response is, 'What choice do you have?'"

ASKED what Bobby does for a living, he said he didn't know, it didn't matter. "In Hollywood they always want to know about a character's back-story, which is the stupidest damn idea. It's like asking what kind of underwear the guy in the painting is wearing." Pressed about the specific events the play comes from, he got a little testy, though he did so with a smile.

"Us writers, we're even bigger whores than journalists," he said. "Because journalists, once in a while think, 'Well, Jesus Christ, maybe it might be a good idea to consider using a fact.' We don't even do that." Nonetheless, perhaps the most telling of the three one-acts is "Jolly," in which Bobby and his sister commiserate about their torturous upbringing.

"I read it," said Lynn Mamet, a writer herself now living in southern California. "It was as if David had replayed six or eight of our phone conversations."

This was not meant critically, or with a sense of betrayal, but by way of illustrating the complexity of the family dynamic. In the real-life tale, Leore Mamet left her husband, a labor lawyer, for one of his colleagues, and the two children lived with their mother and stepfather until young David had had enough and moved in with his father.

"Suffice it to say we are not the victims of a happy childhood," Ms. Mamet said. "There was a lot of violence, but the greatest violence

was emotional. It was emotional terrorism, in my estimation, was a survivor of a travel route that included a 1950's version of Dachau and Bergen-Belsen, and that we both still bear the numbers on our arms. In that sense, when he writes, he wears short sleeves."

Tightly connected as the two are — "I would take a bullet for him," Ms. Mamet said — their experience was not the same. Whereas her brother grew up admiring their real father, Bernard, who died five years ago, she always hated him. She, on the other hand, has forgiven her stepfather; her brother has not. Ms. Mamet said she would provide her stepfather's phone number only if her brother agreed to it; he wouldn't.

Ms. Mamet's own new play is called "The Lost Years," in which a man is caught among the women in his life: his wife, his sister and his remembered mother.

"It's basically about the breakup of David's marriage to Lindsay," she said, referring to Lindsay Crouse, the actress who was Mr. Mamet's first wife, with whom he had two daughters, Willa and Zosia. Now teenagers, they live with their mother in California. Judging from the play, it would be an understatement to say the marriage did not bring Mr. Mamet much solace.

"In dealing with our demons, we have identified different people as the devil," Ms. Mamet said. "My response to that is it doesn't matter who we single out; there was a devil, and as a result we will never run out

of stories. The very thing that could have destroyed us and driven us to silence ultimately led us to open our veins on white bond and make a living."

"Ms. Mamet said her brother — "the angriest man who was ever born" — has clearly softened with age, and indeed, the signs are there. Several years ago, he embraced Judaism with a fervor, which he acknowledged, had something to do with growing older.

His second marriage, to Ms. Pidgeon (who converted to Judaism) has, by all accounts, had a calming effect on him; so has the birth of their daughter, Clara, who is now 3. And his other family, a widening professional circle of actors, writers and directors who are exceedingly loyal to him, is clearly a source of enormous solace. Almost everyone he works with now has worked with him before.

"Life has gotten a bit easier for him lately, I think," Ms. Pidgeon said, though asked why, she retreated into a characteristic Mametian cocoon. "I can't go into the reason," she said. In "The Old Neighborhood," she is placed in the odd position of portraying the woman who loved Bobby Gould and lost him.

"Do I feel like I'm on stage with my husband?" she said. "I do, in a way. But it's a different part of Dave." What's on stage isn't real; it isn't what actually happened. The work, she said, represents "the dream life of the writer."

"When the little boy goes up the stairs with the knife, presumably to end his life, in 'The Cryptogram,'" she said, "that's not exactly what Dave did, is it?"

No, obviously not. And apparently he has now lived long enough to tell the tale. At one point in the Sunday rehearsal, progress stalled as Mr. Guastaferrro, as Joey, struggled with the speech in which he admits to his old pal Bobby that he has recurring fantasies about killing his family. Mr. Guastaferrro had been rushing things, plunging into his awful confession as though he couldn't keep it inside him. He didn't hold onto it long enough and so the speech had a false, comic ring to it. He didn't seem terribly tortured.

"Sometimes, I think, and stop, just stop until you're ready to say it," Mr. Mamet instructed him. "It'll hold forever." □

C PLUS

BY FRANK LONGO / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

A crossword puzzle grid with numbered squares. The grid is 18 columns wide and 18 rows high. Some squares are blacked out, indicating non-letter positions. The puzzle is titled 'C PLUS' and is by Frank Longo, edited by Will Shortz.

- ACROSS
1 Harer of green eggs and ham
7 Puzzle solver's exclamation
14 Foll giant
19 Ingo's wife
20 "Amadeus" antagonist
21 Clipse
22 Keep in touch with the kids I raised?
24 Family life, figuratively
25 Transport for Tarzan
26 Cove
27 Dismissal
28 Big game in action film catches game?
29 Thwart the progress of United We Stand?
31 Boxcar rider, maybe
35 Run-D.M.C., e.g.
36 Seven: Prefix
37 Looks for
40 Auberge
41 TV's "Murder—"
42 Dome home
47 Constellation north of Taurus
48 Costal fracture?
52 Tidbit
55 Deborah's "The King and I" co-star
56 Uniform decoration
57 Businesses
61 Updates an atlas
63 Spud bud
64 Actress Sorvino
65 Teetotaler's choice
66 Something too tough for falcons?
68 "Like — oot!"
69 Not name
70 Free
71 Beat
72 St. — University
73 Investor's concern
75 — in apple
76 Draw forth
78 Country legend tees off?
80 Thick vegetable soup
85 Hilton alternative
86 Ad —
87 Atlantis docked with it
90 Pressure, in a way
91 Garth Brooks's birthplace
93 Former Davis Cup coach
95 Tasty
96 Sculptor's creation?
101 Overfill airplane
104 Loser
105 "Gotcha"
106 Vacuum tube filler
107 "I Will Survive" singer
108 Psycho with intense desires?
114 Touches up

- 115 Rival of Oprah
116 Pledge
117 "Bullitt" director Peter
118 Unfriendly quality
119 Book of the Apocrypha
DOWN
1 Like some wine
2 Gp. with a staff in its symbol
3 Pressure unit
4 Algonquian Indian confederation
5 Prepare to shoot
6 Old-fashioned contraction
7 Cousin of -esque
8 Kind of curve
9 Jazzman Mose
10 "Mi — Loca" (Pam Tillis hit)
11 Poet's adverb
12 Burn up
13 Shanty material
14 Lots
15 Buzz off
16 Mather Teresa, notably
17 Right at the beginning?
18 "It's worth —"
21 The Beatles' — Woman
23 Links rental
27 Pres. initials
28 Crack in the cold, maybe
29 "Frank & Jesse" co-star
30 First name in shipping
31 Glee clubs
32 Kind of artery
33 The U.A.E. belongs to it
38 P.L.'s
39 South, to the south
42 — Man Answers" (1962 comedy)
43 "The Taming of the Shrew" servant
44 Bebe's "Cheers" role
45 King of the fairies
46 To astronomers, they're hot and blue
48 Comparatively cantankerous
49 Durable wood
50 Nervous
51 Dial letters
53 Beverage for Beowulf
54 528 or 23, e.g.
57 Toast
58 Hardly handsome
59 "Twelfth Night" countess
60 It may be pending
62 Israel's first U.N. representative
63 Squeezed (out)
66 "Phooey!"
67 Tucked away
72 Ballet jump
74 Spiker's barrier
75 Dispatch boat
77 Old radio's — Stoopie
79 Pandora's boxful
81 Poster material
82 Pastor, sometimes
83 Proceed
84 Loaf pair
87 Man alternative
88 Archipelago components
89 Christogram letter
91 Crying
92 Cinerary vessel
94 On a par, in Paris
96 Not forthright
97 Andes climber
98 To date
99 Department north of Nièvre
100 Elbows
102 Pouring pot
103 " — Dei"
105 Calling company?
108 — de coeur (pained utterance)
109 Sinbad's transport
110 Loser to Norton, 1975
111 It may be natural
112 Sade's "Is — Crime?"
113 Young and Coleman

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE
A grid of letters corresponding to the crossword puzzle answers, with some letters highlighted in a different color.



Patti LuPone and Peter Riegert in "The Old Neighborhood" by David Mamet.

FOR...
Every week...
Medical...
Larry Derf...

مکان التوصل

dry
The very thing that was destroyed...
Ms. Mamiel said her brother...
The second marriage to Ms. Mamiel...
The first marriage to Ms. Mamiel...
The second marriage to Ms. Mamiel...
The first marriage to Ms. Mamiel...
The second marriage to Ms. Mamiel...
The first marriage to Ms. Mamiel...
The second marriage to Ms. Mamiel...



'Who comes in here? The United Nations comes in here,' says a counselor for the non-profit organization Kav La'oved, the Workers' Hotline. Right: Counselor Simha Yishai, who used to work at a manpower agency, now fights for the rights of foreign workers.

Foreign aid

Every week, dozens of foreign workers head to a Tel Aviv office in the hopes of getting back pay, medical care and sometimes even their passports. Larry Derfner visits Kav La'oved, the Workers' Hot Line

A frightened Filipino maid who gets paid less than half the legal minimum wage wants to know if she can leave her Israeli employer without getting deported.

A Chinese teacher of literature, working in construction, is trying to retrieve a month's unpaid wages. Ten Romanian workers with unpaid salaries and untreated injuries crowd into one room as a counselor levels threats over the phone at their employers.

'Who comes in here? The United Nations comes in here,' says Jason Myers, a counselor for the non-profit organization Kav La'oved (Workers' Hot Line). Every week about 75 to 100 foreign workers climb the three flights of stairs to the office on Allenby Street in Tel Aviv, in hopes of getting their rights.

A lot of Filipinos come in on Sundays because that is their day off. Romanians come in almost every afternoon. Africans come in rarely, Myers says, because 'they're a closed, scared community.' Otherwise, he says, the nationalities come and go in waves.

About a month ago Kav La'oved told Chinese manpower companies visiting Tel Aviv about their workers' rights, so now, Myers says, 'We're going through a Chinese wave.'

The Filipino maid doesn't want to give her name, age (she appears to be in her early 20s) or the town where she works, and she wants no calls made to her employer, or to the Israeli manpower agency that brought her over from the Philippines and arranged her job. She tells Myers she's fed up with her employer because the four-year-old boy in her charge keeps her up half the night. She's getting headaches so bad she 'sees stars,' and the man of the house tells her, she's 'no good.' But she's afraid to leave her employer because Tova, owner of the manpower agency, has threatened to deport her if she tries. 'Tova can't do that. She's not the police, she's not the government,' Myers assures her. 'But she's done it to many other Filipinos,' protests the maid. 'The police take them away.' 'Those are just Tova's stories,' insists Myers. 'If she puts you in a taxi to the airport, when the taxi stops, just run away.' The maid seems very unsure. 'The Filipinos come to Israel and work 18 to 20 hours a day, without being able to talk to anyone else at work, and they internalize the abuse they receive,' Myers explains to a visitor. 'The maid asks why she gets only \$300 a month when the contract she signed nearly a year ago with Tova's agent in the Philippines said she would get \$350. 'What?' Myers exclaims. Israeli minimum wage is about \$690 a month. She's got a few thousand dollars in back pay com-

ing, he tells her. 'But I signed the contract,' the maid says. 'It doesn't matter,' Myers replies. 'They can't hold you to a contract that's against the law.' He offers to write her a letter of resignation to her boss, giving him 30 days' notice. Maybe then he will sign a 'release' that will allow her to legally seek another employer.

'Often the manpower agencies don't want to pay the workers, or pay for their medical care, so they drive them to the airport, bringing goons to beat them up along the way'

(If foreign workers leave their employer without a release, they are considered illegal residents and therefore liable for deportation. They have 'run away,' in the accepted terminology.)

'It's like slavery,' Myers comments. But the maid balks. 'Give him a letter of resignation? He'll put a lot of pressure on me,' she says. So Myers advises her to get in touch with a more decent manpower agency than Tova's, try to find a job through them, and then maybe Kav La'oved can pressure her employer into signing the release. Maybe, with luck, the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry can even be induced to help, he says.

The maid's boyfriend had been waiting in the lobby. 'Jason,' the maid asks, 'if I run away from this family and from Tova, can Tova send my boyfriend back to the Philippines?' 'No,' says Myers. 'If she tries, can I come here again?' 'Yes.' Kav La'oved, which gets its

money from a number of philanthropies, including the New Israel Fund, The Ford Foundation and Christian Aid, was founded in 1991 to help Palestinian laborers, who today make up roughly half of the organization's cases. Palestinians who want to file complaints about getting stiffed on salary and compensation must do so in the Kav La'oved office in Kalkilya.

When foreign workers began replacing Palestinians on Israeli job sites in large numbers, the organization branched out. Kav La'oved often succeeds in browbeating an employer into giving the workers what they're owed.

Sometimes they refer cases to civil-rights lawyers. Out-of-court compromise settlements are frequent; foreign laborers don't have years to wait for court decisions.

Counselor Simha Yishai, who speaks Romanian, handles the Romanian desk. He doesn't smile, doesn't make small talk. He works the phone with such intensity that the 10 Romanians filling the chairs and the staircase are absolutely silent, watching him.

'Give me Eli... Yishai, Simha... Eli, I want those documents. I know what's going on here. I'm going to blow this case up in the media.'

A voice replies over the speaker phone: 'Simha, give me your fax number and I'll send you the documents in 15 minutes.' 'Okay, Eli, happy new year.' Yishai looks up, hears the next complaint from the floor, puts his head down a moment to think, then punches up the next telephone number. 'Give me Yoram... Yishai, Simha.'

Since the beginning of last year, Yishai says, he's talked manpower agencies and employers into paying foreign workers about \$1.75 million in back wages.

He threatens to go to the press or hand the case to a lawyer. Delinquent employers generally cough up. Another typical complaint by Romanian contract workers is that manpower agencies hold on to their passports to keep them from 'running away.' This is against the law, so Yishai threatens to tell the police, and the passport is usually returned.



Romanian workers seek help at the Allenby Street office. (Debbie Hill)

'A lot of times the manpower agencies don't want to pay the workers, or they've been injured on the job and they don't want to pay for their medical care, so they deport them. They take them to the airport, and bring along goons to beat them up on the way. The workers are scared, and they get on the plane,' Yishai says.

'There are security guards at the airport who call me up, any time of day or night, to tip me off, and I go to the airport and get the workers out of there,' he relates.

'I make a complaint to the police against the agency, and I take the worker back to one of the hostels in

Tel Aviv. But I never find out about a lot of them and they get deported.'

Yishai himself used to work for a manpower agency bringing in Romanian farmworkers. Then he saw what was going on, quit, and became a labor rights worker.

ZHAO Peilin, 41, a construction worker here for the last 16 months, has a blindingly sunny view of life. He says he does not believe in any religion, he 'just believes in people. We are going up and up, improving step by step. Finally, with our wisdom, knowledge and competence, we can combine all

the beneficial things - science, technology and feeling - to [attain] a perfect life.' Zhao teaches world literature in the foreign language department of Northeast Normal University in Changchun, a city in Jilin Province.

His favorite authors are Pushkin and Goethe. 'I admire the writers who create their national tongue, their national culture,' he explains, saying he has translated the Apocrypha from English to Chinese.

Zhao says he and four countrymen weren't paid for the month of February. The local manpower agency told him it was the con-

tractor's fault. When he went to the contractor's office to inquire, one of the bosses whispered in his ear, 'They want to send you back to China.' Zhao says his co-workers are 'very worried. They paid something like NIS 10,000 for passports, visas, tickets and other expenses to come here.'

All in all, though, Zhao says he is 'rather satisfied with my adventure.' The opportunity to study Israeli culture, he says, is almost as important to him as the money he intends to bring home to his wife and child.

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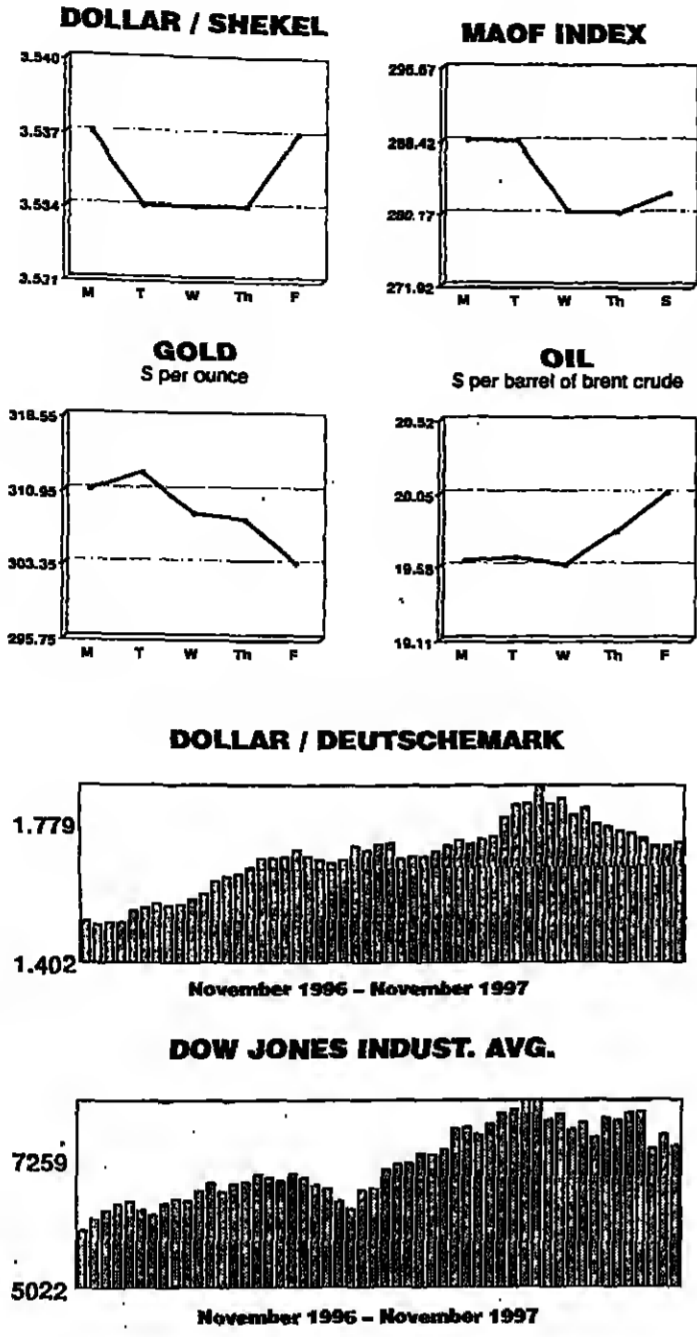
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THE JERUSALEM POST
IS ISRAEL
in English

BUSINESS & FINANCE

MARKETS

in brief



Money supply up 2.6% in October
M1 money supply increased 2.6 percent in October, the Bank of Israel announced yesterday. This follows a 2% drop in September. M1 which includes the sum of currency, demand deposits and travelers checks significantly reflects the credit given by the banks to the business sector. *David Harris*

Israel, Egypt renew talks on natural gas pipeline

BY STEVE RODAN
DOHA, Qatar - Israel and Egypt have resumed negotiations on the establishment of a pipeline that would pump natural gas through Sinai to Israel in a project that Qatar is interested in financing, industry sources said yesterday.

The renewed talks between Cairo and Jerusalem come as Israeli officials report snags in Israeli negotiations with Russia over a similar project.

The industry sources said Israel has turned its attention once again to the Egyptian offer of natural gas as other options appear to be receding.

In addition to the Russian offer, Qatar proposed shipping to Israel huge amounts of liquefied gas to Akaba, where a plant would change the energy into natural gas.

But the Qatar offer was never pursued by the Israelis, the industry sources said, and now the sheikhdom has offered to help fund an Egyptian pipeline to Israel.

"Part of the problem is that Israel has never made clear what is its energy policy," an industry source involved in the Gulf contacts said. "You talk to different people and you get different answers."

The industry source said Israel's best offer was from Qatar, in which

the Swiss energy company ABB was willing to sell Israel electricity for one cent less per kilowatt hour than the cost of Israeli production. The source said Israel did not agree.

Industry sources said several leading Israeli businessmen at the Doha conference have tried to buy natural gas and oil from the Gulf for export to Israel. But their efforts have been stymied by lack of Israeli government permission.

Qatar is believed to be sitting on the largest supply of natural gas in the world and several companies are constructing the infrastructure to develop and pump the fuel.

Industry sources said National

infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon has sent an official to Doha where he is now trying to renew talks with Qatari officials on the supply of natural gas to Israel. The deal was abandoned nearly two years ago mainly because of the high price being set for the energy.

But the Qataris appear to be playing it cool. At a news conference, Qatari Energy Minister Abdullah Bin-Hamad al-Arifiyah said his country would not negotiate any natural gas deal with Israel.

"If Israel wants to talk, it has to talk with Enron," he said, referring to the US company now developing Qatar's natural gas fields.

October jobseekers total climbs 1.3% to 149,780

By DAVID HARRIS
The number of people actively seeking work increased by a seasonally adjusted 1.3 percent to 149,780 in October, according to figures published yesterday from the Employment Service.

The figures put out by the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry, however, show a fall in the monthly number of job seekers since July, when the figure peaked at 152,391. The total now is 143,636.

A listing was also provided of nine towns where unemployment was above 10% last month: Ofakim (13.9%), Kuseifa (13.7%), Sderot (12.8%), Kiryat Gat (12.2%), Kiryat Malachi (11.8%), Yeroham (11.6%), Rahat (11.4%), Abu Rabiab (11.2%) and Netivot (10.2%).

The regional breakdown shows unemployment to be highest in the central and eastern Negev regions and in the south.

Once again the three cities with the lowest jobless rates are Eilat (1.9%), Jerusalem (2.7%) and Tel Aviv (3.2%).

The number of jobs advertised on Employment Service premises declined last month to 16,000 from 18,100 in September. The number of new immigrant jobseekers fell 0.2% to 10,100, or 7.1% of the total. The percentage of female jobseekers also fell, to 53.3%, compared to 54.1% in September.

The proportion of job seekers under 35 also dropped, from 44.6% to 44.2%. In Arab communities the total also declined.

The number of work permits for foreigners stood at 89,500 in October, compared to 90,000 in September.

PA eases Israel trade restrictions Israel, Jordan sign free-trade-zone accord

By STEVE RODAN and DAN GERSTENFELD
DOHA, Qatar - Israel and Jordan launched the Middle East economic conference in the Qatari capital yesterday by signing an agreement to designate an industrial zone in the northern Jordanian city of Irbid for the joint manufacture of products for duty-free export to the US.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Authority announced that it would lift the restrictions on imports of Israeli goods and will limit them to domestic electric appliances and cars, according to the Manufacturers Association.

The industrial zone at Irbid already contains 10 Israeli firms, including Delta Textiles and Koor Industries, and provides more than 1,500 jobs in both countries, officials said. This is good news for Israel and Jordan and good news for the region, said US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who attended the signing ceremony.

Industry and Trade Minister Nathan Sharansky said the agreement for the Qualified Industrial Zone is "tailor-made between Israel and Jordan."

"Unlike most trade agreements that are launched by governments, the one signed yesterday was promoted vigorously by Israeli and Jordanian industrialists, added Sharansky. "It

was Israeli and Jordanian businessmen who opened the way," he said. Sharansky's Jordanian counterpart, Hani Mulki, agreed. "What we are witnessing today is industrial cooperation with teeth," he said, "industrial cooperation with guaranteed standards."

The ceremony took place amid tight security in Doha, with much of the city closed to those not attending the conference. Security is particularly intense around the 100-person Israeli delegation, many of whom

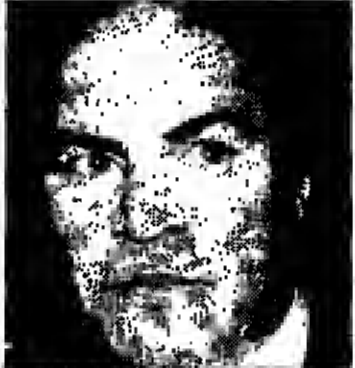
are staying on a boat off the Qatar coast. The security precautions were taken after Qatari authorities received information that terrorists would try to disrupt the conference, which ends tomorrow. Security has been stepped up also due to tension between the US and Iraq over Baghdad's expulsion of American arms inspectors searching for non-conventional weapons illegally held

by the regime of President Saddam Hussein. In a meeting between Saeb Bnina, managing director of the Palestinian Ministry of Economy and Industry, and Eli Davida, managing director of Jafra-Tabon, the Palestinians announced the PA's decision to lift restrictions on the import of Israeli goods.

The Palestinian representatives at the joint committee of the Palestinian Authority and the Israel Manufacturers Association said that the PA would allow the imports of Israeli products, including: margarine, oil, beverage, furniture, sweets, chocolate, sausages, mineral water, vegetables, fruit, frozen food products, paper products, and detergents.

The PA had decided in August to ban the import of these products. The Palestinians said they will leave restrictions in force on electric appliances as a counter to Israel's decision not to transfer purchase taxes on Israeli products exported to the PA.

According to the Manufacturers Association, Israeli exports to the PA fell by 12 percent in the first six months of the year to \$681 million compared, with \$1.6 billion in the whole of 1997. Imports from the PA to Israel amounted to \$107m. in the first half of 1997 versus \$242m. in the whole of 1996.



Hani Mulki (Brian P. Hendler)



Madeleine Albright (Brian P. Hendler)

PORTS AND RAILWAYS AUTHORITY ISRAEL RAILWAYS

PREQUALIFICATION PROCEDURE FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF MONOBLOCK PRESTRESSED CONCRETE SLEEPERS FOR THE ISRAEL RAILWAYS

General

- The Ports and Railways Authority (hereinafter the "PRA") intends to publish a Tender for the manufacture and supply of 200,000 monoblock sleepers on behalf of the Israel Railways (hereinafter the "I.R."), with an option for an additional quantity of 200,000 sleepers.
- Only manufacturers who have passed the prequalification test (hereinafter the "Test") set out below will be permitted to participate in the Tender.
- Conditions for Recognition of a Manufacturer's Qualification**
- A manufacturer will be recognized by the PRA as qualified to manufacture monoblock prestressed concrete sleepers on behalf of the I.R. if he has met all of the requirements detailed in the Test documents, including the manufacture of several samples and the dispatch thereof for examination in Germany.
- A list of the requirements (in Hebrew only) can be obtained, free of charge, by applying to fax no. 03-5618027. The application should include the requesting company's name, private company number, full address, facsimile and telephone numbers and the attention.
- Compliance with the requirements included in paragraph 2.1 above is a necessary condition for the PRA's recognition of the manufacturer as qualifying to participate in the Tender for monoblock sleepers.
- It is clarified that the PRA's recognition of the manufacturer, as stated, constitutes recognition of his technical qualification only, and such recognition shall not release him from compliance with any other condition deriving from the Technical Specifications, the terms of the Contract and/or any other documents forming part of the Tender/Contract that will be issued pursuant to this Prequalification procedure.
- Timetable**
- The deadline for purchase of the Test documents is Wednesday, December 31, 1997.
- The deadline for submission of the qualification certification documents, including the results of the examinations and all the information which the manufacturer is required to submit, as specified in the Test documents, is Monday, June 15, 1998 at 15.00 hours.
- The candidates are advised herewith that the PRA may publish the Tender for the manufacture and supply of the sleepers even before this prequalification procedure has been completed. In such an event, only those who have participated in this procedure and have sent samples of sleepers for examination in Germany, shall be entitled to participate in the Tender. At the same time, after the results of any procedure become known, the PRA shall be entitled to disqualify any manufacturer who failed to comply with the requirements.
- Following the deadline set for submission of the examination results and all other information, as specified in the Test documents, the PRA will consider and decide, based on the material at its disposal, who among the candidates is qualified to manufacture prestressed concrete sleepers for use by the I.R., and it will notify each candidate separately in the regard.
- Manufacturer's Costs in Connection with this Procedure**
- All the manufacturer's costs in connection with his participation in the procedure, including the planning and preparation of the sample, shipment thereof to Germany, ordering of examinations and payment thereof, all the application of rights and for patent, and any other required cost, shall be borne solely by the manufacturer and shall not be reimbursed by the PRA.
- Visit of the PRA's representatives to the Manufacturer's Plant**
- For the purpose of verifying and/or completing information which was provided by the manufacturer, the PRA reserves the right to visit the manufacturer's plant, to observe the activities going on there and to receive from the manufacturer explanations and supplementary material, all the foregoing as the Manager of the Israel Railways Engineering Department shall see fit. The visits shall be coordinated in advance, and the PRA and manufacturer shall cooperate fully with the PRA's representatives.
- Purchase of the Test Documents and Submission Thereof for Certification**
- A complete set of Test Documents (in Hebrew only), including the Technical Specifications, can be purchased for a non-refundable NIS 1,170, including VAT.
- Place of purchase of the documents and submission for certification: Ports and Railways Authority, Purchasing Division, 11th Floor, Room #1103, 74 Petach Tikva Rd., Tel Aviv 67215 Israel

PRIME פריים

Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

Date: 13.11.97

Purchase Price: 119.08

Redemption Price: 117.52

LEUMI PIA

TARGET טרגט

Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

Date: 13.11.97

Purchase Price: 130.26

Redemption Price: 128.37

LEUMI PIA

PORTS AND RAILWAYS AUTHORITY ISRAEL RAILWAYS

TENDER NO. 4444/97 FOR THE SUPPLY OF DIESEL FUEL

- The Ports and Railways Authority ("PRA") wishes to obtain quotations in accordance with the International Agreement on Government Procurement Procedure (GATT) for the supply of Diesel Fuel for the PRA's Sites (Israel Railways, and the Ports of Eilat, Ashdod and Haifa).
- Period of Contract: 3 years plus an option for an additional 3 years.
- PRE-REQUISITES FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE TENDER**
- Bidder has proven capability to supply laboratory services for fuel analysis.
- Bidder has countrywide service department to maintain fuelling equipment.
- Bidder has a proven annual turnover of at least 50 million NIS (not including VAT) during one of the last three years.
- Bidder that has never supplied fuel to the PRA will submit at least three references from clients who have received at least 2.5 million liters of fuel during one of the last three years.
- Registration and licensing in Israel, and/or abroad (as applicable), as required by Israeli law, for the performance of the contract.
- Compliance with Israeli Standards (if applicable) as set by the Israeli Standards Organization.
- For Israeli entities, furnishing of all certifications as required by the Public Bodies Transactions Law 1976 (enforcement of bookkeeping and payment of tax debts).
- For foreign entities, signed local cooperation undertaking.
- Tender documents including technical specifications are available upon payment of NIS 3,510 including VAT (non-refundable).
- The last date to submit proposals is no later than Sunday, December 28th 1997 at 15.00 hours.
- The address for the purchase of the Tender documentation and for submitting the proposals is: Ports and Railways Authority, Purchasing Division, 11th Floor, Room #1103, 74 Petach Tikva Rd., Tel Aviv 67215 Israel
- All documents and proposals should be submitted in Hebrew.
- This Tender is being conducted pursuant to the Agreement on Government Procurement and in accordance with the Tender Laws of the State of Israel. The selection of the Supplier will be conducted as an open public competitive process and will involve negotiations. Further, the PRA is not obligated to purchase the lowest proposal which might be offered by any potential bidder. A contract may be signed with more than one supplier.

In these times you cannot AFFORD to be without THE JERUSALEM POST

Goldman Sachs to buy 13% of IDB

By Globes News Service
IDB Holdings, controlled by the Recanat family, is in advanced negotiations to bring US investment bank Goldman Sachs into the company as a strategic partner.

According to the planned deal, about half the IDB Holdings shares currently held by Discount Investments, or 12.99%, would be

transferred to Goldman Sachs in the first stage. The US bank would receive an option for the remaining shares.

The IDB shares to be transferred to Goldman Sachs were purchased by Discount Investments in August from the Iscar company owned by Sef Wertheimer, in a deal which ended a two-year battle between the Wertheimer and Recanat families.

IDB's share in the transaction was estimated at a value of \$114 million, and, apparently, the price Discount Investments will ask will be in the range between that figure and IDB's current market value of \$100m.

IDB, along with Koor, is the largest holding company in the country, controlling a series of prominent companies through its holdings in Clal and Discount Investments. It holds shares in, among others, Cellcom, Super-Sol, Delek, Scitex, ECI, Sonol, Clal Insurance, Nesher, Tambour, Tevel, Azorim, Shikun Ufiah, Kitan, Polgat, Gilat, American-Israeli Paper Mills and Hyper-Shuk.

Forty-seven percent of IDB is held by the Recanat and Carasso families.

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Table of leading TASE issues including Agri, Bank Leumi, and various industrial stocks.

RETZEF CONTINUOUS TRADING SHARES

Table of continuous trading shares including Agri, Bank Leumi, and various industrial stocks.

KARAM SMALL CAPITALIZATION TASE ISSUES

Table of small capitalization TASE issues including Agri, Bank Leumi, and various industrial stocks.

Main table of stock prices with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

Main table of stock prices with columns for stock name, last price, and change.

TASE rises following Wall Street gains

Israeli stocks rose yesterday after companies traded on Wall Street gained over the weekend, and as chemical shares jumped.

Yamaichi launches massive cutbacks

Yamaichi Securities Co. will streamline its operations in a move that will see its staff slashed by a third, the closure of its overseas offices, and the creation of two subsidiaries, Japanese newspapers reported.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Table of Israel money markets including currency deposit rates and foreign exchange rates.

GENERAL ASSISTANCE

Emergency pharmacies, duty hospitals, and other general assistance information.

Large vertical advertisement for Scholes and Rose Bo.

CRITICS' CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Pianist Semion Kruchin plays a recital of works by Beethoven, Liszt, Shostakovich and Prokofiev today (5) at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall in Jerusalem as part of the Emataha series. Admission is free and the concert is broadcast live on the Voice of Music radio network.

The Haifa Symphony Orchestra opens its family concerts series with Saint-Saens's delightful Carnival of the Animals. Arie Vardi conducts and is also one of the two piano soloists, the other being 13-year-old Boris Giltburg, one of Vardi's students who won first prize in an international competition in Newport, Wales, last month. Today at the Haifa Auditorium and Wednesday in Netanya (5). Music director Philippe Entremont is the conductor and piano soloist in the Israel Chamber Orchestra current concert featuring the first Saint-Saens cello concerto (17-year-old Ehud Weber as soloist), the Mendelssohn concerto for two pianos (Entremont and Sebastian Knauer), and the Spohr eighth violin concerto (Elijah Shulman).

Tonight and Wednesday at the Tel Aviv Museum, tomorrow in Ness Ziona (8:30).



The life of the legendary James Dean (seen here in 'East of Eden') is explored in 'James Dean and Me,' on Channel 1 at 10:15 p.m.

TELEVISION

ELANA CHIPMAN

James Dean appealed to the younger generation in the 1950's, but what makes him remarkable is his enduring stamp on youth culture to this day. All across the world, he continues to symbolize the essence of youth's rebellion in a combination

of power and vulnerability. James Dean and Me, tonight at 10:15 on Channel 1, takes an untraditional look at the "Dean Phenomenon." It explores the myth and legend through the personal memories of those who were influenced by him and through rare photographs and footage of his charismatic superstar.

WEATHER section with a map of Israel and surrounding regions showing weather conditions and forecasts for various cities.

AROUND THE WORLD table with columns for city, low, high, and weather conditions for various international locations.

WINNING CARDS and DRIVE CAREFULLY advertisements. Includes a daily chance drawing and a warning about driving.

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD puzzle with ACROSS and DOWN clues and a solutions grid.

SOLUTIONS section for the cryptic crossword puzzle, listing the answers to the clues.

QUICK CROSSWORD puzzle with ACROSS and DOWN clues and a solutions grid.

TV

TV schedule table with columns for channel and program details, including 6:30 News Flash, 8:00 Altheuland, and 11:30 Two Hearts.

PRIME TIME TV

PRIME TIME TV schedule table with columns for channel and program details, including 7:00 Open University, 8:00 Star Trek, and 9:00 News.

CABLE

CABLE schedule table with columns for channel and program details, including 6:15 Today's Programs, 7:00 The Morning, and 8:00 Rikva Michaeli.

MOVIES

MOVIES schedule table with columns for channel and program details, including JERUSALEM CINEMATHEQUE, PANORAMA G.I. Jane, and The Peacemaker.

